

DATELINE

The 1994 Magazine of The Overseas Press Club

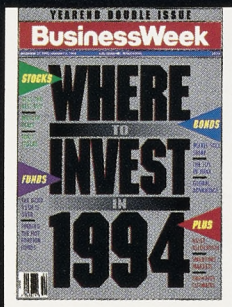
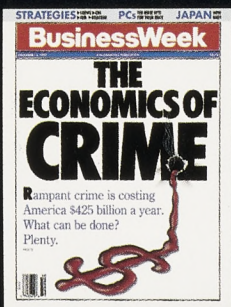
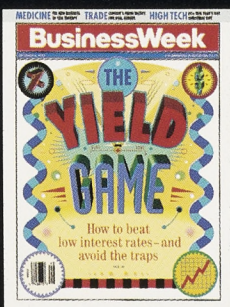
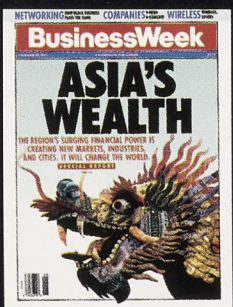
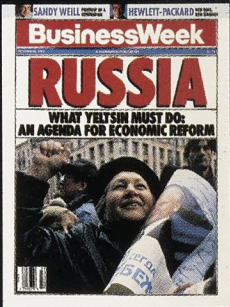
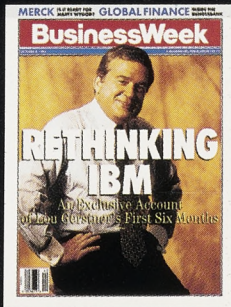
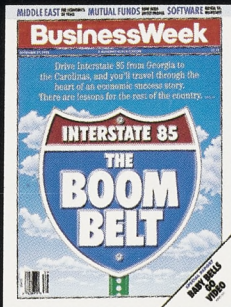
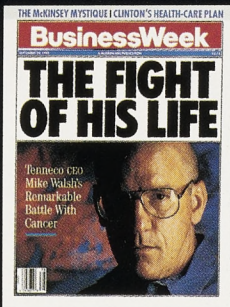
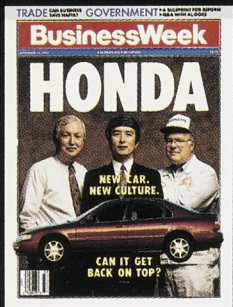
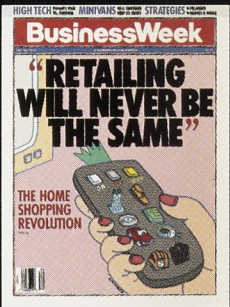
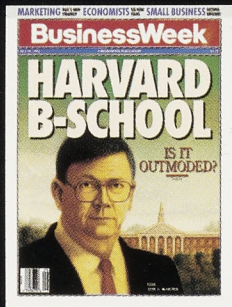
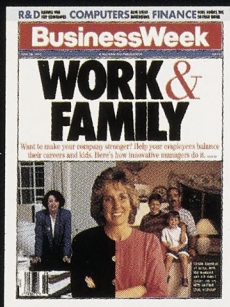
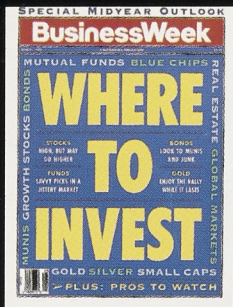
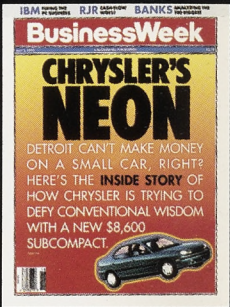
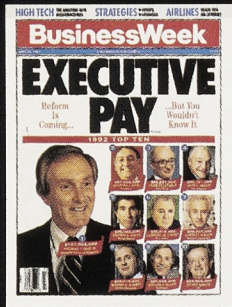
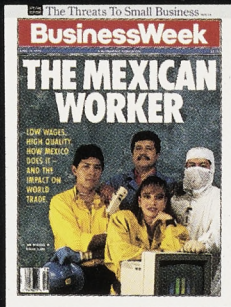
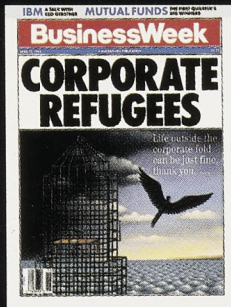
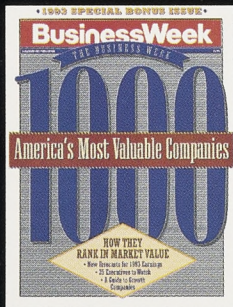
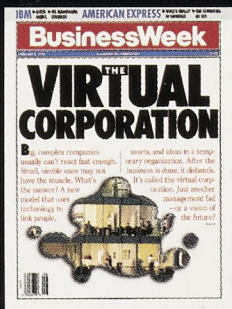
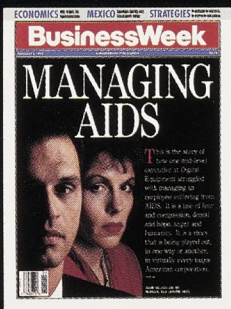
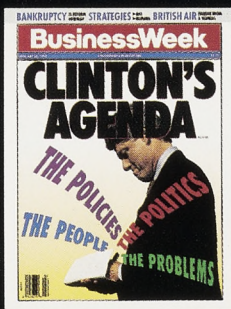
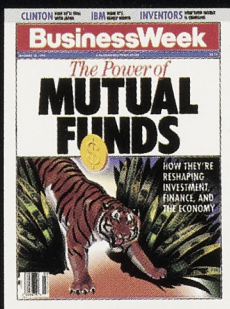
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*Winners of
The Overseas
Press Club
Awards*

This photo of a water-carrier was taken in Mogadishu last July 5 by Hansi Krauss, 30, of the AP, seven days before he was slain by a Somali mob.

*Varied Commentary From Some of
The World's Best Journalists:*

**WHAT IT MEANS
WHEN THE PRESS
IS SET FREE**





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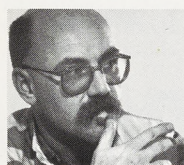
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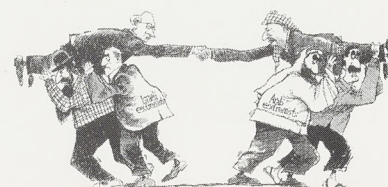
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DATELINE



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Friedman, Roberta Gardner, Robert

Garmendiz, Ike Kotlyarsky, Herbert Kupferberg,

Milagros Maldonado, Susan Pisman,

Mary Rose

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

ADVERTISING The McLeod Group

Kate McLeod, Sharon Mathews

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Correspondents With Verve



471-400 B.C.

Thucydides
Greek Historian; covered
Peloponnesian War



Margaret S. Fuller
America's first woman
foreign correspondent

1810-1850



Richard H. Davis
Newspaperman and war
correspondent; covered
six wars

1864-1916



Elizabeth Cochran
Pen name: Nellie Bly.
Known for her globe-
circling for NY WORLD

1867-1922



Jack London
Foreign correspondent
during Russo-Japanese War;
also wrote novels

1876-1916



Floyd Gibbons
Fast-talking radio
commentator and war
correspondent

1887-1939



Paul Scott Mowrer
Pulitzer Prize-winner,
1928, for foreign news-
paper correspondence

1887-1971



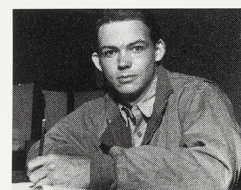
Margaret Bourke-White
Innovator of photo essay;
covered World War II for
LIFE magazine

1906-1971



Joe Rosenthal
Veteran Associated
Press cameraman; took
photograph of U.S. flag
raising at Iwo Jima

1911-



Bill Mauldin
Pulitzer Prize-winner for
wartime cartoons; created
GI Joe and Willie

1921-

The importance
of the
information
highway isn't
the network,
but the
information
that travels
over it.

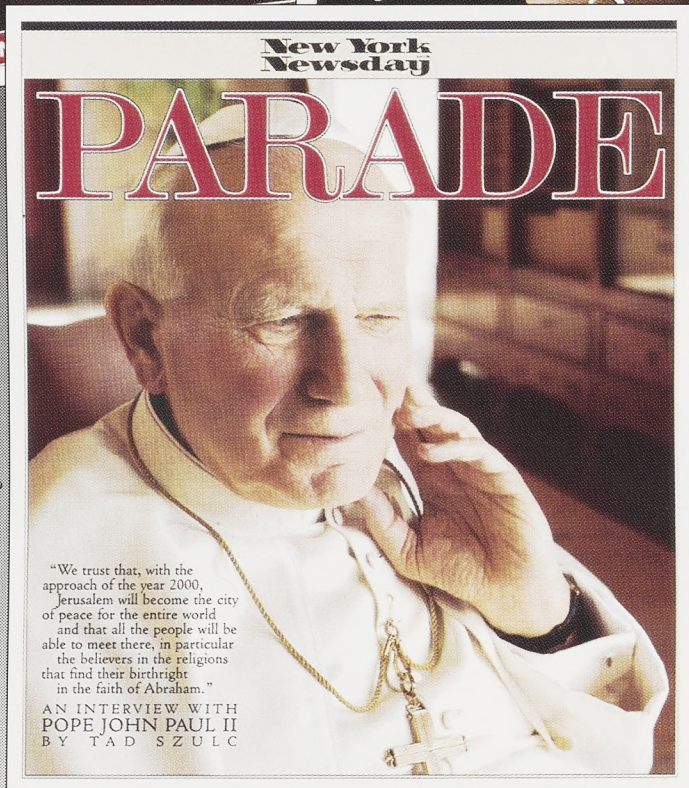
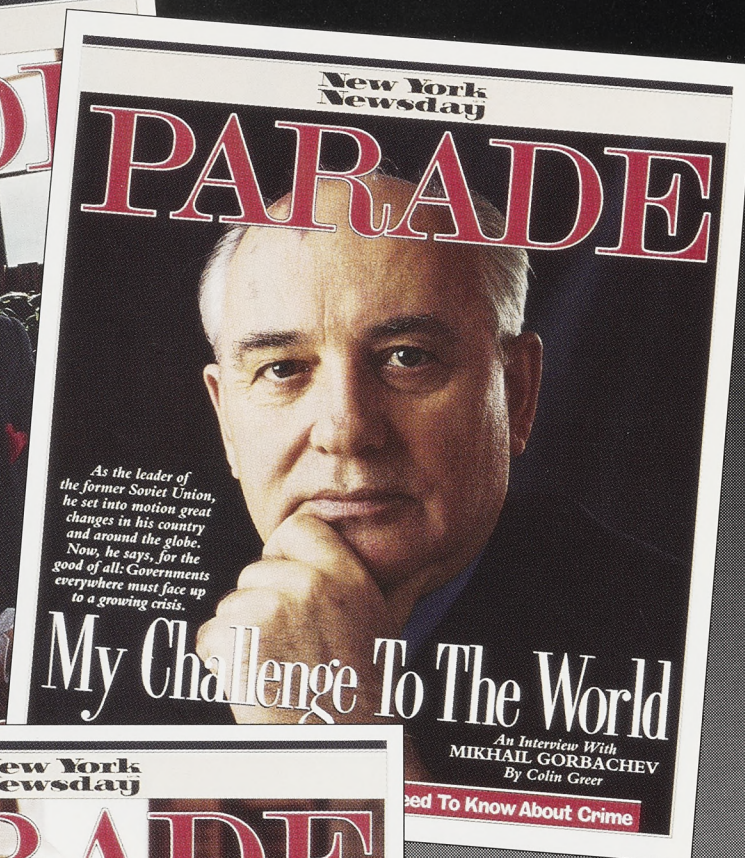


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The Sunday Magazine Where The World's Finest Journalists
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No-Holds-Barred is the style of coverage today, but some say there should be limits

WHO CHECKS THE PRESS?

By Larry Smith
OPC PRESIDENT

IN A DEMOCRACY, the only lasting tyrant is the press.

Its power is absolute and, while somebody may print a retraction or a correction or an apology here and there, it has free rein to roam and write what it pleases. At the same time, without a free press, without free exchange of information, you can't have a democracy.

This issue of *Dateline*, which seeks to explore what happens when the press is set free in other countries, perhaps should include a look at how things are going in our own backyard.

One underlying problem in this country may be that, while the press functions as a fundamental agent of democracy, doesn't it remain a profit-making enterprise? And if the bottom line drives journalism, does that shape our perspective accordingly?

On the question of tyranny, the press sets its own priorities, and it always gets the last word, even though it takes its lumps, as has happened in recent months with the Whitewater investigation, Presidential campaign coverage and the Bobby Ray Inman nomination, to name a few examples.

No-Holds-Barred is the style of coverage today and, while it generally makes sense—in the eyes of most of us—not to back off from any legitimate story, should the press seek to impose limits on itself? Is it good, necessary, proper for the complete truth to be told, about FDR's mistress, say, or Babe Ruth's womanizing, or JFK's seamy behaviors? What about Watergate? Heck,

yes. Whitewater? Discomfiting though it may be, the response has to be in the affirmative.

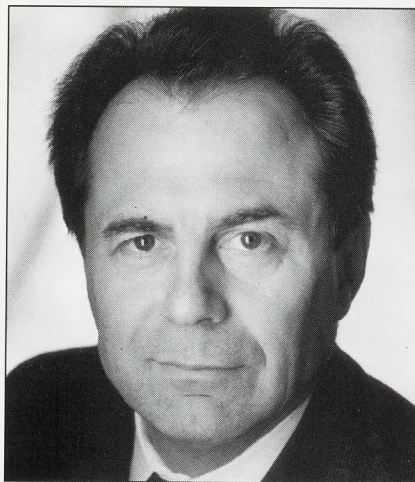
There has been considerable reporting on the indifference, even animosity, on the part of the American public to hearing about what did or didn't happen in the Whitewater case, partly because people grow sick of hearing about such things and, in the case of the Clintons, hoping to see in the White House someone who can lead this country to a little more stability and a decent health-care plan.

People say:

Is that asking too much? Is there some way we can induce or promote leadership in the White House? Can or should the press function from such a point of view? Not really. The basic job of the press is to go find out what happened and come back and tell us about it. The question then becomes who decides what a story is, and how much attention should be paid to it.

Writing in *U.S. News & World Report* on July 6, 1992, about the Presidential race, David Gergen, under the headline "Curbing Attack-Dog Journalism," noted, "Those of us who practice journalism must ask, however, whether we too are contributing to...distemper by our relentless assaults on every crack and flaw in a candidate's past and our willful refusal to explore any shine in the armor."

In his concluding paragraph, Gergen wrote that "to dramatize the negative while we largely ignore the positive is to create a warped picture of reality to diminish all of us,



politicians and press alike." His final words were that "we will choose a President this fall but we will never elect a leader."

In the Inman flap, no less a distinguished figure than Arthur Schlesinger Jr. speculated on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times* on Jan. 21 that Inman's withdrawal from the nomination of Secretary of Defense would "provoke the customary lamentations about the evil wrought by a malevolent press in keeping 'the best people' out of government," suggesting "that press misbehavior is a new and deplorable departure in American politics."

Schlesinger's observations, of course, were inspired by a William Safire column on Dec. 23 that questioned Inman's fitness for the position, labeling him a "flop," a "naif" and "a cheat."

James Webb quoted those three words in a column coupled with Schlesinger's by *The Times* on Jan. 21. Webb, Secretary of the Navy under Ronald Reagan and a distinguished writer in his own right, noted, "Government service has become largely reactive rather than creative."

He added, "Political debate is sharper and commentary often personally vicious in the wake of such divisive issues as Vietnam, Watergate, the civil rights movement, the retreat into ethnocentrism and the multifaceted sexual revolution. Leaders who dare to take an unambiguous stand on key issues are often battered by intense media and interest group reactions, including ad hominem attacks from which they never recover. "Many strong-minded people decide they would rather stay out of government and influence its actions in other ways."

'Unwarranted vitriol can itself become infectious' Acknowledging that debate is the

lifblood of our society, Webb went on to explore how hostility in the press can slide into "unwarranted vitriol," which can itself "become infectious, spreading to other commentators."

He added, "And the end result can be daily misery, culminating in an irreversibly sullied reputation."

Schlesinger noted similarly that "democracy by definition is based on disagreement, debate and criticism." He asked: "Why should any person appointed or elected to office expect immunity from the process? Would not such immunity be incompatible with democracy?"

Then he went on to say, "By common consent, our three greatest Presidents were George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt. All were subjected in their day to savage, virulent and unjust criticism."

But what I wondered in reading that was, does the fact that Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt were subjected to horrendous abuse justify the practice of invective? Of course not, and I don't think Mr. Schlesinger is saying that. But mightn't his words be interpreted as suggesting that the press is being offered a precedent for the employment of "savage, virulent and unjust criticism?"

You ask yourself whether, since Nixon, President-hunting hasn't become a sport. We in the press should try to think responsibly and consider as we

continued on page 50

Global media organizations have to promote freedom around the world if they are to survive and prosper in the new era

WHY THE PRESS MUST BE SET FREE

By Bill Holstein
EDITOR, BUSINESS WEEK INTERNATIONAL

IT WAS A moment of revelation. Thanks to the Russian American Press and Information Center in Moscow, I was sitting with Russian journalists who were interested in "journalistic integrity" and "majority rule." They also wanted to know about the economics of "mutual funds" and "portfolios."

But the interpreters clearly were struggling with these words, and the blank looks on the faces of reporters from Moscow, St. Petersburg and Nizhny Novgorod suggested the full meaning wasn't getting through. Then an interpreter explained: These words don't exist in the Russian language, much less the concepts. To guide their country down the path toward greater economic and political openness, the journalists will have to either invent new Russian words or borrow wholesale from English.

That helps explain why freedom of the press has become a global issue, not just an American one. In the old days, freedom of the press meant our ability to report unpleasant things about our own government. Somewhere along the line, maybe it was during the Vietnam War, we developed a desire to report critically about what our nation was doing in the world. There were always bad guys at home or abroad who didn't want us to do it, but we felt the moral legitimacy to try like hell.

Today in 1994, however, we're not only trying to report on our own country and what it does in the world. We also want journalists all over the globe to have greater freedom of the press. That means journalists in former Communist lands, and it includes local journalists in zones of conflict like Bosnia, Somalia and the West Bank. And even in more peaceful parts of the world, we want Mexican journalists to report fully about the assassination that mars their presidential campaign. In Asia, we want journalists in Malaysia and Singapore and China to demand greater freedom as their societies become more prosperous. The Press Must be Set Free.

Suddenly this is a much more complex and high-stakes issue than ever before. Increasingly, the flow of information and the shaping of perceptions lie at the heart of conflicts among so many disparate peoples. It's no accident that when Hungarian rightists want to consolidate power, they fire Hungary's television and radio broadcasters. It's



Bill Holstein at Russia's White House, after the 1993 October revolt.

no accident that Serbian military forces in Bosnia targeted foreign and domestic journalists, resulting in dozens of deaths. They want to intimidate and conceal. In one of the most dramatic OPC programs of this past year, Ivica Puljic, who worked for Bosnia TV in Sarajevo, told how he was twice rousted from bed in the middle of the night by the Serbian army and taken to jail. He survived, but 29 of his colleagues died.

Our motivations to create a world where the press is set free are, to be sure, not entirely altruistic. Our own ability to cover the world's hot spots already has been compromised by fundamental assaults on the role of the local press. In situations like Algeria or Bosnia, international news organizations have to rely at least in part on nationals who speak the language and who can operate amid extreme hazards. If credible local media institutions are intimidated or completely destroyed, we often are stymied. That's why we've

seen so many stories about Algeria with a Paris dateline.

The same goes even for tranquil little places like Singapore. There, two Business Times reporters were found guilty of violating Singapore's Official Secrets Act by getting a scoop on the government's growth figures. They got by with fines, not jail terms, but the incident certainly sends a chilling message to any journalistic organization.

There are other crassly commercial reasons why freedom of the press is an issue that should be extended globally—the most dynamic growth markets are out there. That's certainly the way savvy editors and

producers at some top U.S. networks, newspapers, wire services and magazines see it. It's partly a question of technology. Satellites allow television to have

an enormously broad "footprint," and they also allow magazines and newspapers to print in several different locations, giving them global sweep. All of which can be supported with fiber optic telephone links, faxes and computer networks.

But international also is where the raw economic growth is. As so many economies blossom, particularly in Asia and Latin America, but also hopefully in Eastern Europe, billions of readers and viewers are displaying a growing thirst for information and entertainment.

This demands greater sophistication from American journalists. And it poses tough ethical challenges. It's probably

Suddenly this is a much

more complex and high

stakes issue than ever before.

not wise, for example, to promote Western values or U.S. pop culture in a way that is perceived as a fundamental assault on governments or established systems.

Consider the tough tradeoff that Rupert Murdoch made. He spent hundreds of millions of dollars to buy a controlling stake in Star-TV, a Hong Kong-based satellite service that reaches from Israel to Indonesia. At the time, he was quoted as saying that satellite television represented "an unambiguous threat to totalitarian regimes everywhere."

But then one day Star-TV carried a documentary from the BBC that examined sexual affairs Mao Tse-tung had with several mistresses. Even though the Great Helmsman is long gone, the Chinese government was outraged when this program was broadcast. Rather than allowing Murdoch's programming to be shut out, by having the Chinese ban satellite dishes, Star-TV dropped the BBC.

Journalistically pure? No. But it's evidence about how complex freedom of the press is when we think of it globally. That's why global news mongers are beginning to speak of "regionalization." The same news story or program may not be right for every country. So there will be greater pressures to "adapt" our message to different markets, even at a time when we are urging local freedom of the press.

It's also clear there will be greater pressure from foreign governments to adopt some form of "responsibility" in managing the news. That obviously is

dangerous.

What realistically should be done? Part of the response should be to invest in our human capital, to create organizations that can manage the ambiguity between freedom and responsibility. It should be a question of how do we anticipate and adapt, rather than respond to *diktat*.

At the same time, a variety of organizations, mentioned in the following pages, are trying to foster greater openness. Certainly the Overseas Press Club—through its Freedom of the Press Committee and the Committee to Protect Journalists—is increasingly vocal in defending journalists' rights. Other bodies ranging from the Freedom Forum to the Soros Foundation are trying to help implant the institutions and values that will allow greater openness to blossom in coming decades. These efforts deserve support.

Aside from self-interest, down deep in one compartment of our cynical souls, we believe freedom of information is a force for fundamental good. It is the most powerful tool in the world. One day, the tinpot dictators will be swamped by information flooding through data bases, personal communicators and satellite dishes. Then, at last, we will make our own choices, thank you, about what to read and watch. ☺



How it should be around the globe: A jammed newsrack in Germany.

Bill Holstein, a vice president of the OPC, is editor of Business Week's international edition and author of The Japanese Power Game.



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It's naive to believe that journalists living in newly freed countries need a crash course in publishing. Let's not look down on our press colleagues in the East.

THEY KNOW HOW TO SMELL A RAT, TOO

By Jacqueline Albert-Simon

U.S. BUREAU CHIEF AND ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF POLITIQUE INTERNATIONAL

FREEDOM TO WRITE; freedom to publish. In our profession, most of us joyously, though not without a fair amount of anguish, exploit the former, and relentlessly guard the latter. In early February of this year, at the World Economic Forum in Davos, I was fortunate enough to meet journalists from Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, from several of the East European countries, and from many other places of course. We were members of the free press: the newly free, the more or less free, and from the West, those of us who consider freedom of the press our civil religion.

One snowy night, a few of us shared late hours and true confessions. That is, mutual frustrations, doubts, and even (suspect word) enthusiasms. Around the fire, consensus was that a journalist's (anywhere) first priority is commitment to the facts. Get the story, get it accurately, make it concrete, and the language accessible, and then, second priority, get it published.

Everyone in the profession knows the pain of getting a good story, and then being told it's not the right story at the right time, or not what the editor asked for, or better luck next time. Freedom of the press, I thought later, can be compared to free trade. In theory, it's a great idea; in reality, the obstacles can be daunting. Ultimately though, and in the long term, it does the world little service to sell the practice short.

No one in that group that night needed coaching on the limits of freedom to publish in democracies. Journalists are quick studies. That's the professional entry card, and the occupational hazard. Then during one conversation, the issues came around to the abuses of freedom by us as well as them. Do the facts tell the story for the reader (or the listener), or is your bias showing? Does being a quick study mean incomplete or careless fact finding? Someone asked, does your criticism follow the logic of the facts? Is it defensible? Can your story persuade, and whom? Why should it, why always criticism? someone asked. Why not, the chorus caroled. Our obligation is 'watchdog' as you say in the West.

I remembered a story from Mary McCarthy in the *New York Review of Books* in 1968. The issue was Vietnam, and although she was suggesting a role for intellectuals, I think it to be equally applicable to journalists. "What we can do, perhaps better than the next man, is to smell a rat," she wrote, "and our problem is to make others smell



it too."

Rats, it was unanimously agreed, are central to our business. When you don't smell them out, they're generally undercover until it's dinnertime, and then it's too late. Make no mistake about this. Our new colleagues in the East are perhaps better qualified to smell the rats that we are. Trained from earliest days in survival tactics, they're lessons for all of us in both skepticism and self censorship. The latter, they all know, is as much of a danger for reporters when the press is newly freed as is unrestrained and underinformed writing. East Europeans, former dissidents who managed rather more effective underground journalism than could be handled as efficiently elsewhere, were deeply articulate on that subject. Guides for self-imposed restraints were argued deeply: Is the story relevant, is it destructive, is it necessary public knowledge, when is self-censorship justifiable, if ever.

And more.

It is we who are naive (or is it arrogant?) to think that automatically, old countries newly liberated from totalitarianism need to learn what's democracy, independence, freedom to write and publish. These journalists do not need to learn to walk. What they do need is investment from all of us. Investment in publishing ventures that honor the independence and integrity of the press, investment in technology training and equipment, material for radio and television, exchange programs, support. Technical skills are in far shorter supply than is talent in both the

Technical skills are in far

shorter supply than is talent.

the OPC, as well as TV managers and moguls and their stars, and those in the print media, can serve as centers of cooperation and contact.

We ended the evening offering toasts to heroes of earlier times, starting with Socrates and making delightfully slow progress to the present. Certainly in our profession there are many more heroes than villains. We are in fact a club, a global club, and our free trade in ideas is what helps us and them to get the story, get it straight and get it out. ☺

Jackie Albert-Simon, a member of the Board of Governors of the Overseas Press Club, has been U.S. Bureau Chief of Politique Internationale (France) since 1980. A former contributing editor of Harper's Magazine, she writes on international affairs.

Now that glasnost is gone, will the Russian press survive economic blackmail, heavy censorship and shady ethics?

A TASTE OF FREEDOM TURNS BITTER

By Joanne Levine
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ONE NIGHT LAST October when Russia tottered on the brink of civil war, about 50 Muscovites huddled outside the Kremlin gates to catch the latest news from a man holding a pink transistor radio. At first, he could find only dead air. Then a monotone voice broke the silence urging countrymen to support the battle being waged by President Boris Yeltsin's opponents.

It was an eerie reminder of the not-so-distant past. Real news wasn't coming over the airwaves, only a stoic announcer touting a party line. At the same time, shocked television viewers could find only one working channel. Fierce fighting at Ostankino, the national television Center, had knocked the rest off the air. Russia's media, which had shed its Communist censors just a few years before, had become a centerpiece in a political tug-of-war. It was becoming clear that in Russia, press freedom is tenuous at best.

Today, the Russian press struggles on. Even though the country's new constitution guarantees press freedom, journalists are often prey to the whims of government officials. Authorities take advantage of lax libel laws and Russia's underdeveloped constitutional shields to stop stories they don't like. If the courts don't work, officialdom can always cut off funding, since the government still controls the purse strings of the vast majority of publications. The two state-run national television networks still take orders from the top. Although hundreds of independent television and radio stations have cropped up, they, too, face governmental roadblocks, such as capricious tax policies and a maze of bureaucratic permissions to operate.

So new is press freedom in Russia that many journalists revert to old habits. Some censor themselves or shill just one side of a story. With newspaper and television salaries so low, some are tempted to run their own public relations firms on the side. "It's not a free press," says the American journalist Daniel Wagner, who works for *Internews*, a U.S. not-for-profit organization that consults with fledgling independent television stations. "It's a freeing press."

Not only must Russian journalists report their country's tumultuous politics, but they also are often the football that gets booted about. Last year, for example, the hard-line dominated parliament tried to seize control of state-owned television and radio stations shortly before Russians went to vote in the nationwide referendum. And when Russia was in crisis in October, Yeltsin reverted to his Communist roots. He shut down 15 newspapers that he deemed the "opposition," fired editors of two others and sacked two popular television anchors. Russia's Press



and Information Ministry justified its iron-fisted approach by maintaining that media outlets critical of Yeltsin were destabilizing the country. Underscoring the bizarre twists common today, the newspaper *Pravda*, once the official mouthpiece of the Soviet Communist party, is now a leading free press advocate.

Russia's experiment with a freer press began during Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost. Off the printing presses rolled a variety of formerly outlawed publications. On the airwaves, young, aggressive reporters helped to usher in a new era with frank political commentaries and investigative reports. Then the collapse of the Soviet Union in late 1991 introduced a heady phase for Russian media. Scores of newspapers made their debut. So too did independent commercial television and radio stations,

no longer bound by state-imposed guidelines. "It was a pretty free time for the Russian press corps," said Leonid Zaglasky, a research associate with the Committee to Protect Journalists. "It was so free that journalists were confused. They never worked under such conditions where they were responsible for what they wrote."

But that was a brief moment in Russian history. Officials soon realized that a free press could make or break a politician. "When the government and parliament began to understand how powerful a tool the media was, they began to chip away at its freedom little by little," Zaglasky added. Indeed, media's potential power was underscored when the ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky

is tenuous—at best.

made good use of slick TV ads allowed to air at the last minute on state-run television. Many analysts believe that the ads helped him sweep the polls in December's elections.

Zhirinovsky's success is one reason why another Russian free press advocate is pessimistic that the leash will be kept loose much longer. Alexei Siminov, chairman of the Glasnost Defense Fund, a Russian organization whose mandate is to protect journalists and help keep the press free, notes that there were 157 cases of abuse against journalists logged last year in the former Soviet Union. He said in October alone, seven journalists were killed, 12 wounded and 60 others attacked—mostly by official Russian authorities.

Economic control is more sophisticated, but no less effective. Siminov says that of 20,000 Russian newspapers, only 600 exist without economic support from the government. "If you ask an editor who receives donations from the government, he will say the government did not force him to do anything," Siminov said. "But they understand they get money from the government. They are tentative about opposing it too much. It's a psychological pressure."

Russian journalist Kitill Belyaninov, *continued on page 14*

A TASTE OF FREEDOM...

continued from page 13

who has written for Western newspapers, says that economic blackmail by bureaucrats is becoming commonplace. "They are using these tactics with all the papers," Belyaninov said. "Newspapers cannot afford to be independent."

Nor can the two state-run networks, which reach more than 140 million viewers. There are stories of Western companies offering much-needed hard currency to news programs willing to do a story on their latest products or services. Anatoly Lysenko, director of Russian Television, recently said the two state-owned networks cost 3 trillion rubles a year to operate. (One dollar equals 1,500 rubles.) When the Finance Ministry announced it was slashing the networks 1994 budget in half, Lysenko said the move to scale back airtime was political—not economical. He may be right. The government is in the midst of reorganizing state-run television.

The traditions and culture of Russian journalism are also problematic. "There is no code of ethics," said Wagner. "Commentary is seen as part of the news. Many journalists don't see the danger in saying what he or she feels as opposed to reporting the truth."

Even with the many obstacles, there are a few glimmers of hope. A wealthy businessman, Vladimir Gusinsky, is poised to become the country's first media baron. He launched the independent *Sevodnya* newspaper last year. In its short life, the paper has become mandatory reading for the country's political and economic elite. Gusinsky says he plans to invest in other print mediums along with TV and radio stations. He views a free, independent press as the best defense against the country's conservative backlash. He is not alone.

Another bright sign is the new wave of independent radio stations to hit Russia. In the last two years, as many as 200 stations have been launched, blaring everything from rap and rock 'n' roll to political commentary. (Independent television stations are spreading as well, but they are far more expensive to set up, and officialdom is far more frightened of them.) Many would-be station managers have tough times procuring licenses and frequencies doled out by the Ministry of Communication. At times, independent station managers have to cater editorial content to external pressures, since the state still controls costs of airwaves.

But Manana Aslamazian, who worked for the Glasnost Fund and is now executive director of *Internews*, said the stations have come a long way. As proof, she said, not a single independent station shut down during the October rebellion. When the air on state television went dead in Moscow, the country's first independent station, Channel 6, broadcast CNN live. "We were on the air during the shoot out when others went off," said Stuart Loory, general director for TV6, a joint venture with Turner Broadcasting. "We ran our programming without fear or favor."

Aslamazian said independent channels are beginning to see their potential as well. She remains optimistic about the future. "I know these people and the level of their work now as opposed to three years ago," she said. "Stations are beginning to earn money and solve their problems." Only until Russia's publications and radio and television stations start making it on their own financially will they be able to enjoy the freedom to report the news that their Western counterparts do. It's in Russia's best interest, and the West's, that they succeed. ☺

Ms. Levine is a freelance journalist who has worked in Moscow for three years. She has written for the Associated Press, The Los Angeles Times, USA Today, the Moscow Times and Business Week. She is a 1990 graduate of Columbia Journalism School.

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Compared to 10 years ago, press freedom has advanced in the former Soviet Union. But compared to what it should be, it still has a long way to go.

RUSSIA'S EDITORS WALK A TIGHTROPE

By Otto Latsis
EDITOR OF IZVESTIA

IF YOU WOULD COMPARE the Russian press today to what it was before the era of reforms began, the extent of freedom would appear improbable. Ten years ago in order to publish this article Russian authors would have had to seek formal approval from Glavleet, the government agency that exercised authority over Soviet media. Not one word, not even a business card, could be printed without authorization.

There were no independent newspapers; all belonged to either the Communist party or governmental agencies. The KGB jails and psychiatric hospitals flourished for those few trying to distribute unauthorized publications. During Gorbachev's time, the old rulers were forced to eliminate censorship and adopt new press laws, which allowed creation of independent newspapers.

When the Soviet Union collapsed and the party press apparatus disappeared, the newspapers that once belonged to it registered as independent. Some were able to keep their premises and printing houses. At the same time a lot of new newspapers were created. The freedom of criticizing the ruling party, even the President of Russia, was virtually boundless—which was proved daily by the content of opposition press.

During the suppression of the October 1993 revolt in Moscow, the government made an attempt to declare martial law and delay newspaper printing. But censorship was ignored by practically all journalists. So, persuaded by failure, the government decided to cancel the declaration just a few days later. The delay of newspaper printing was aimed not at all the opposition, but only at those which called for violence. The most powerful of such newspapers were the party newspapers: *Pravda* (Truth), *Den* (Day) and *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (Soviet Russia). Even after the fall of the Communist Party, these newspapers never changed their political views.

Oddly, the Soviet courts and the procurator's office displayed softness toward chauvinism and fascism. *Pravda* was allowed to be printed just a few days after the bloodshed it helped to mastermind. *Sovetskaya Rossiya* resumed after two months. *Den* immediately changed its name to *Zavtra* (Tomorrow) with the same editor and the same aggressive and radical content.

For newspapers today, freedom is far from boundless. Attempts to establish dominance of a new governmental apparatus over means of information began immediately after the collapse of the old regime at the end of 1991. The former Supreme Court of the USSR created its own Russian newspaper, fully subsidized by the government. Its editor was appointed by the parliament and completely dictated policy direction. Similarly, the Russian government created its own newspaper *Ruskiye Novosti* (Russian News).

Unsatisfied with this turn of events, the Supreme Court of Russia ruled for a takeover of *Izvestia*, one of the most influential old newspapers which, until the fall of the Soviet Union, was under the supervision of the Russian Parliament, but had been registered as independent by the

end of 1991, with the journalist's union as its constituent. *Izvestia* appealed the ruling, and by the autumn of 1993 the Supreme Court of Russia disappeared. However, its belongings became the property of the Presidential administration and partially the government itself, so the ruling regarding *Izvestia* is still in process.

At the same time the journalists of the governmental newspaper *Rossiyskiye Vestee* registered the newspaper as an independent. The journalists exchanged guaranteed financing from the government budget for independence, which was considered too risky a step at the time. The government replied with a lawsuit demanding eviction from existing editorial offices.

However, such episodes are not the most essential obstacles experienced by the Russian press. The real calamities have been exorbitant prices for paper, typographical services and distribution. The delivery cost of a newspaper in certain regions became two to three times higher than the subscription price.

It should be noted that the Ministry of Communications, which controls the distribution of newspapers, is a governmental monopoly. In order to keep their subscribers, the newspapers have to allocate their own profits from sales, which means looking for additional sources of profits above those provided by the readers.

At a time of fragile and undeveloped markets, it has been extremely difficult to attain profitability. In 1993 only two Russian newspapers were able to survive: *Izvestia* and *Komersant*. The majority of other newspapers were subsidized by the government, which has led to bias. Few newspapers have received financial backing from powerful corporations—among them *Pravda*, which used to be backed by a Greek businessman.

So, business helps a few, and there is no purpose in discussing independence. It is doubtful that the government will decide to donate any money to help the cause of press freedom in 1994. At the same time, in January 1994, the newspapers experienced another round of price hikes in paper cost and newspaper-related services.

One of the first consequences of this was the discontinuance of the Russian-American weekly newspaper *WE*, a combined publication of *Izvestia* with Hearst Corp. *Izvestia* became unable to cover the losses piled up by the project, which could have been turned to profits if *WE* had been able to stay in existence for a couple more years.

These days even the Ministry of Defense of Russia has been forced to eliminate several military publications due to financial troubles. It is even more complicated for the press in provinces, where the ability to survive depends greatly on leniency of local administration.

The press in Russia is free. But it's like a nestling out of the nest. Any meeting with a passing cat can be fatal. ☹

Translated from the Russian by Susan Pisman and Ike Kotlyarsky.

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A young man, speaking respectable English with a Russian accent, said he could do us a favor by converting either dollars or rubles into Ukrainian coupons for some vague unspecified need.

UKRAINE ON A BUMPY RIDE TO PROGRESS

By John Corporon

SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT/NEWS OF WPIX-TV

A FIFTEEN-hour train ride from Moscow to Kiev was for me a metaphor for the political and economic success or failure of the former Soviet Union.

My wife and I were forewarned that frightening and criminal events can overtake you even in the privacy of a comfortable sleeping compartment.

We boarded the train in Moscow at the Kievskaya station confident but mildly apprehensive.

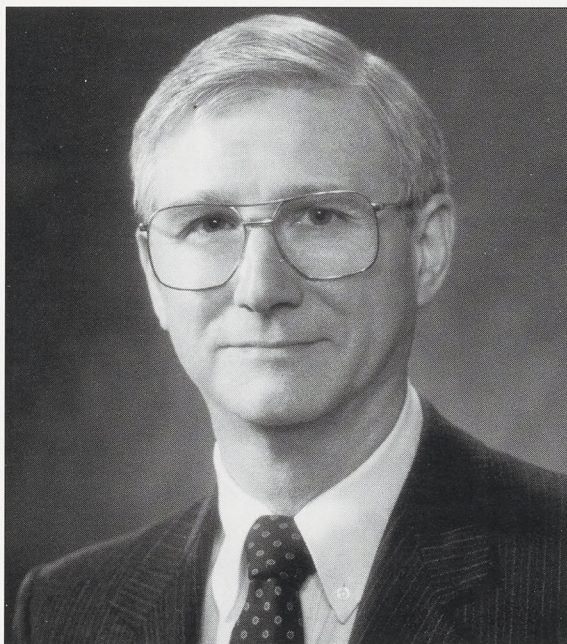
Scarcely beyond the Moscow suburbs, a knock came at the door. I opened the door a crack wide—as far as the safety latch would permit. A young man speaking respectable English with a Russian accent said he could do us a favor by converting either dollars or rubles (he was not too specific) into Ukrainian coupons (the official currency of the Ukrainian realm) for some vague unspecified need I would encounter later during the trip.

After receiving a “no, thank you,” he urged me to flip the safety latch and let him enter the compartment. Like a true New Yorker, I gave him one of those “you gotta be kidding” messages. He immediately ended his mission saying: “My friend and I will be in compartment 5 if you change your mind.”

Harriett and I chewed on that encounter, puzzled. Was the man simply a low-level illegal money trader out to make a couple of bucks? Or had he sized us up as a couple of easy marks, doubtless carrying money, passports and other valuables?

I remembered that earlier in the week a young Englishman studying architecture at Moscow State University told me two “friendly” Russians agreed in a train station to help him over the language barriers as he sought to buy tickets. They translated his American Express travelers checks from his pocket into theirs at gun point. The week before he was robbed of cash at knife-point on the subway.

Another incident we learned of in the daily press also threatened to raise our threshold of paranoia. It involved two candidates running for Parliament. As they traveled from Moscow to St. Petersburg they were startled when their train lurched to a sudden stop in the middle of nowhere. They saw two men run across an open field, jump into a car and speed away. It seems that the two men had attempted to rob a passenger who resisted and made, in essence, a citizen’s arrest. The forces of good were triumphing over evil until the conductor signaled the engineer to stop the train. The conductor helped free the miscreants who retreated to their prearranged car pickup.



Authorities concluded that the conductor and engineer—and possibly the same two robbers—had been partners in crime on earlier runs to St. Petersburg.

Authorities also believed the conductor had participated in earlier tea-time capers. The Russian paper warned that a number of passengers had been drugged when the conductor served passengers tea laced with sleeping potions. Robbers would then jimmy locked compartment doors and rob the woozy or unconscious passengers.

Crime is not unknown to citizens of large American cities, but exposure to this unique bag of Russian tricks does raise the level of alertness.

When our woman conductor came to our compartment to collect the \$1.80 for sheets and

pillows, she cautioned me to sleep with my billfold under the pillow which seemed sensible, in light of certain situations.

Between 9 and 10 p.m. the conductor knocked. It was tea-time, she said.

Swell, I said, bring it on.

Harriett said to me, “You got to be kidding.” She could not believe I was going to be victimized.

She would not drink hers, but I was thirsty.

However, following up on a tip from a Russian and an American while in Moscow, I reinforced the safety latch with a hard plastic cap from a mineral water bottle. It seems robbers have no trouble opening

the regular door lock (maybe with a key borrowed from a conductor?) and with a special tool could

spring the extra safety latch—unless the latch is reinforced.

I drank the tea, and it was delicious. Yes, it made me sleepy but I frequently get sleepy at night.

No, the tea had not been spiked. Sleep under any circumstances would have been difficult because of routine visits by the conductor, Russian military and Ukrainian borderguards. Not to mention the high noise level of loud speakers encountered in rail yards during stops.

Dawn brought a lovely Ukrainian country side covered with snow. Smoke was pouring out of farmers’ chimneys. Peace was in the land and in our compartment.

So emboldened and fearless were we that we sought more tea to go with our breakfast (my wife partook this time).

Why the earlier reference to a Russian metaphor?

Because Russia and Ukraine are both on potentially dangerous journeys. Millions of citizens are

Exposure to a bag of

Russian tricks raises

the level of alertness.

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THE PEOPLE
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WILL VANISH
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EVIL SPIRITS
AT THE
DAWN OF DAY

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A correspondent reports that even tales of newborn babes being fed to lions in the zoo find eager believers in the bitter siege of Sarajevo

PROPAGANDA SETS A TRAP IN BOSNIA

By Christiane Amanpour
CNN CORRESPONDENT

DURING MY FIRST TRIP to Bosnia two years ago, I was bewildered by what I was hearing from the Bosnian Serbs. Not the usual stuff about Moslem hordes desperate to slit Serbs' throats, or about the Christian Serbs heroically defending the West from an explosion of Islamic fundamentalism in the heart of Europe. No, what they really wanted to know was: *Why were the Moslems in Sarajevo feeding newborn Serb babies to the lions in the zoo?!*

For this is what the Bosnian Serb propaganda machine was churning out at the time. No matter that the animals were actually starving to death because the zoo is on the frontlines and Serb gunners had killed the keepers. Then one day the U.N.'s special envoy for humanitarian affairs, unable to contain himself, responded in his inimitable Spanish accent: "Meesseez Plavsic, eef the Moslems are throwing Serb babies to the lions, then why are the lions starrving?"

For their part, the Sarajevo-based Bosnian news agencies claimed Moslems under siege in one of the enclaves had resorted to cannibalism. The ensuing uproar died down when an aid convoy got through and found that the story was nowhere near being true.

Some propaganda is funny—some is annoying—but most is chilling in its implications and impact. Propaganda is an inevitable, some would argue necessary, instrument of war. In the Bosnian war, the Serbs have proved themselves masters of the art. That may be fine for local consumption, but the problem comes when the foreign press and, by extension, *The uproar died down when an aid* their policy-makers get hold of it—and believe it.

Take for instance the on-going debate about who has been shelling whom in Sarajevo. Is it the Bosnian Serb besiegers in the hills? Or is the mostly Moslem

Bosnian government forces shelling their *own* people in a deprived bid for outside intervention?

Is this a serious question?

Apparently so, never mind the daily Sarajevo shell count provided by UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force). Sometimes several hundred Serb shells fall onto Sarajevo for every one shell fired out by the Bosnians. Never mind that the U.N.'s own military observers have produced no crater analysis, nor any other physical evidence, to prove the Bosnian government forces have ever shelled their own people. But because the Serb propaganda has been so successful that many foreign journalists and the international community are so eager to believe it, propaganda became conventional wisdom. For instance: If all sides are as bad as each other, why should we get involved?



This terrible moral obfuscation was demonstrated most spectacularly after the Feb. 5 market massacre in Sarajevo. Sixty-eight people were killed, nearly 200 were wounded. It was the single deadliest incident of the 23-month war. But for hours, no, *days* afterwards, the key question was *who* did it?

Publicly, the U.N. said it couldn't tell. The Serbs said *they* knew: it was the Moslems, stupid. The Serbs went to extraordinary lengths to support their case in their own media. Then they flipped out all together and spent several days denying a massacre had ever taken place at

convoy got through the lines and found all! They claimed the Bosnians in Sarajevo had dug up old corpses and brought them to the market place, that they

had strewn fake limbs and prosthetics around, and that they had sprayed the place with red paint.

What can you say to that? That it's absurd, that it's revolting? Perhaps, but what's worse is that up until then, many foreign journalists and policy makers had chosen to buy this propaganda.

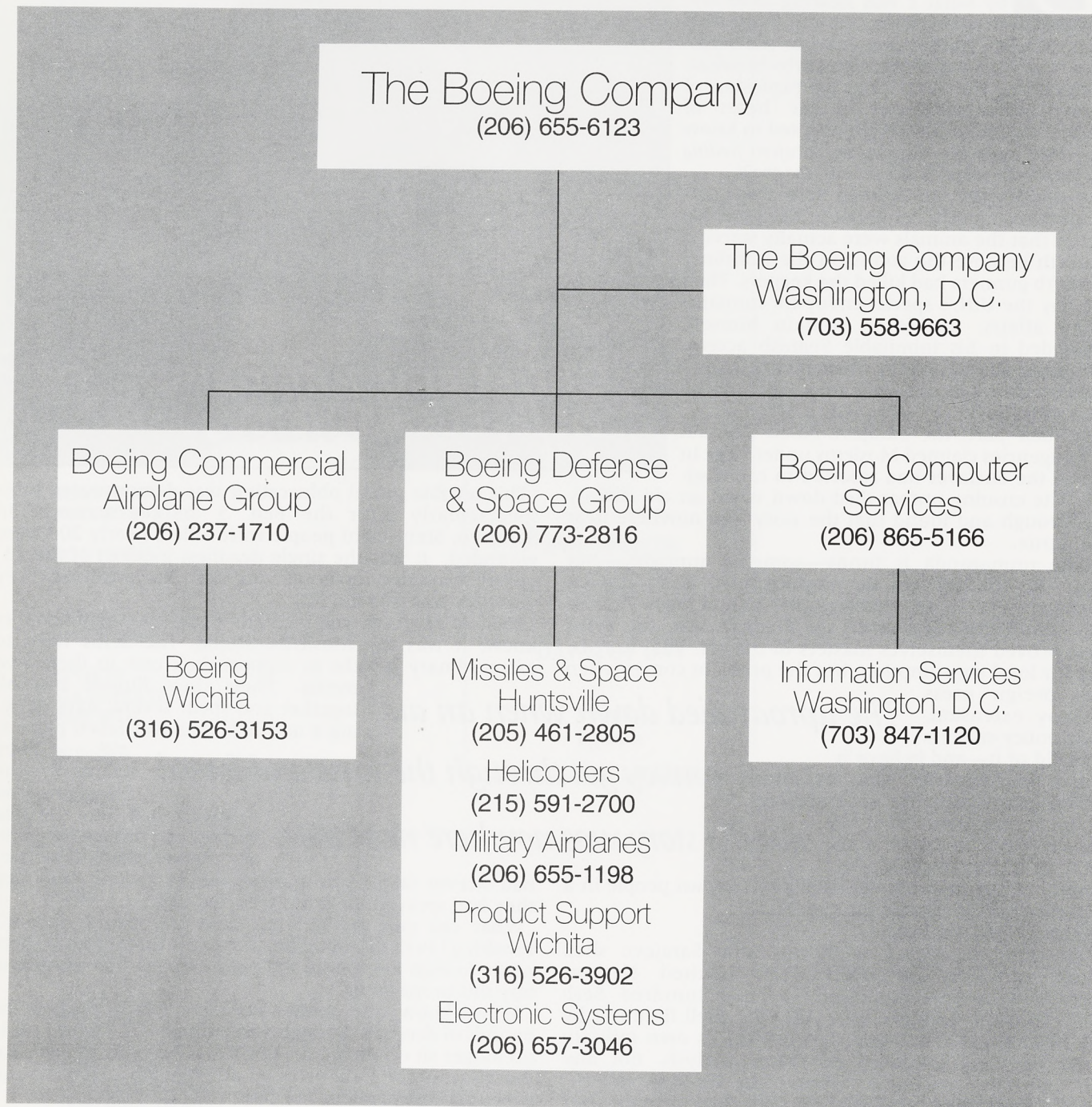
As we know, the market massacre finally pushed the bounds of decency. Enough was enough—the world could no longer sit on its hands. But it has become all too clear that most of the local press on all sides of the Balkan war is neither independent nor free.

It follows, then, that much responsibility falls on those of us with a free press. It is unfortunate when far from shedding more light, we, too, fall into the propaganda trap. ☹

Christiane Amanpour is a foreign correspondent for CNN. She is based in France and is now working out of Bosnia.

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From the Baltics to the Balkans, the new political chieftains are talking about bringing true democracy to their countries journalists. But do they really mean it?

TEACHING FREEDOM TO THE PRESS

By William Sheehan

SENIOR COUNSELOR, INTERNATIONAL MEDIA FUND, WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN THE POST communist countries in Europe, the new leaders endorse the concept of a free press and an open flow of information, but then they invariably add crippling qualifications and exceptions. In Albania, when Salie Berisha was running for office as head of the country's first democratic party, he repeatedly said, "The press should be free. There shouldn't even be a press law." Late in 1993, as the newly elected president, he signed a press law that contains pages of conditions under which the press may operate, including a jail penalty for criticizing members of the government. The gap between words and deeds on press freedom is wide indeed. The new leaders have brought their enthusiasm for a free-wheeling press under tight control.

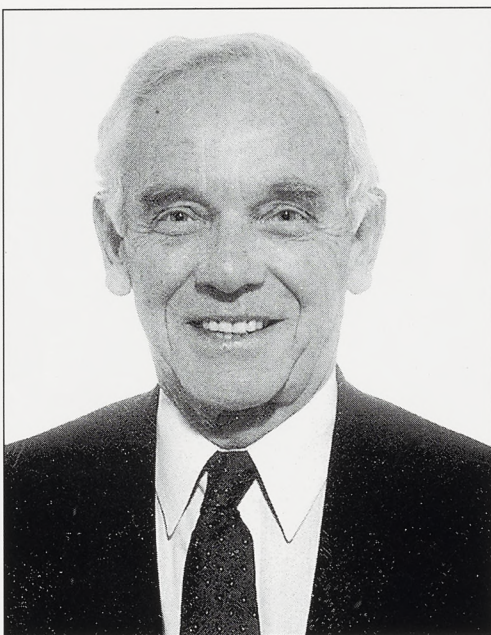
Albania is but one of the many examples of challenges to the development of journalism as it is practiced in the West.

Generalizations are risky, but let me try a few. In these former communist states, there are more newspapers and magazines than there were before the changes. The fact is there are too many for even a healthy economy to support without subsidies. Many start-up ventures do not have the capital to keep them afloat long enough to test their survival power. There is a lack of knowledge of business matters, and only a small understanding of how to manage an enterprise so

it can survive on its own. In most cases, the newsprint supply, the printing presses and the distribution systems are in the hands of the government, where they have always been. This obviously puts a great deal of influence in the hands of those in power, and even democratic governments are not wild about free-wheeling criticism. These new governments argue that their political and social institutions are too fragile to withstand unrestricted opposition from what they see as a press that recognizes few responsibilities to match its potential power.

While radio and television stations are being licensed in most countries, the frequency allocations and the power of the stations limits their reach and thus their ability to survive on the advertising market available.

Romania is licensing low-power television stations. In Bucharest, SOTI, a television programming company, is licensed to operate on the State Channel 2 for 15 hours a week, mostly in fringe time. It is encouraging that an independent presence has been able to survive for two years, but it is hardly a voice to compete with the government-run television service. The stations in cities like Iasi and Brasov have meager resources, but it is a start toward an independent source of news and entertainment.



Bulgaria has a healthy local radio industry. The Media Fund has been involved with five stations in four cities, one of them a student station at the American University in Bulgaria at Blagoevgrad. All are on a sound footing now, and each has competition from other independent stations. In all of the countries, the government supported broadcasting systems are dominant and unchallenged.

In all the efforts to encourage a new kind of journalism in Eastern Europe, one approach offers the best hope for the future. That is the education of college-age students with the help of journalism schools in the United States. Columbia University, the University of Maryland, the University of Missouri, Indiana University, the University of North Carolina, Rutgers, Chico State in California are some of the journal-

ism schools, with funding from the International Media Fund, working with universities from the Baltics to the Balkans developing journalism courses and teaching students and teachers in these countries. It is difficult to change the mindset of established journalists who have been working in the old system, but the openness of the young people and their enthusiasm for change is exciting to observe. When the press is truly set free in these countries, there will be a trained cadre of young people to make it work.

The International Media Fund is one of a number of organizations working in east and central Europe, trying to encourage independent media. Most of

U.S. journalism schools are active in Eastern Europe.

the countries have made some progress. All the countries are closer to open communications than they were under the old regimes, but none of them is very close to a western model of press freedom.

Marvin Stone, the chairman and president of the Media Fund, conducted a benchmark survey in 1991. He noted all the problems and then asked the question: "Is there room for optimism?" He answered, "Certainly, when you remember these are new nations, in precarious transition to democracy." ☺

William Sheehan is an award-winning journalist with more than 30 years in radio and television news and a decade in corporate and government public affairs. He is currently senior counselor for the International Media Fund, a nonprofit foundation working in Eastern Europe and Russia to develop free independent and diverse voices in print and broadcast journalism. He won an Overseas Press Club award for his coverage for ABC news of the British election in 1965.

Today, Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty focuses on teaching basic concepts like checking accounts, stock markets and investment—practices which seem as alien to post-Communist societies as nuclear physics.

THEY TRY TO TEACH THE WAYS OF THE WEST

By Arch Puddington

SENIOR SCHOLAR, THE FREEDOM HOUSE

LIKE VARIOUS other institutions founded during the Cold War, Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty now finds itself a victim of its own success. While the Clinton Administration's initial plans to eliminate RFE-RL have been shelved for now, the Administration has proceeded with a policy of massive cutbacks. Plans have already been announced to liquidate three of RFE's most important language services—Polish, Czech and Hungarian—and an announcement of further eliminations is expected later this year.

Ironically, while American political leaders are planning a major scaling back of the Radios' operation, many leading officials in formerly Communist countries have voiced strong support for RFE-RL's continued operation. They do this despite the fact that RFE-RL serves as a competitor to their own media, and despite the fact that the Radios—unlike the state-dominated radio and television systems in certain countries—cannot be counted on to loyally support the leader of the moment.

A major reason for the continued popularity of RFE-RL stems from the nature of the post-Communist domestic media in Eastern Europe. On the one hand, it is certainly true that most formerly Communist countries have relatively diverse media voices, particularly among newspapers and journals. Most radio and television stations, however, remain under the strong influence of the state, or, if privatized, tend to focus their programming on music and entertainment and not news or public affairs.

Media diversity, however, has not been accompanied by western standards of objectivity. The press tends to align itself with a party or a leader; the opposition is demonized or ignored. There is no clear separation between reporting, editorializing and commentary. The tone of press commentary can be sharp, even sarcastic; the mindset of Communism, in which opponents must be not simply defeated, but totally destroyed, has outlived Communist rule, and certainly influences the conduct of journalists. Struggle over control of the state radio and television has led to major controversies in such relatively tolerant countries as Poland and Hungary. In certain Soviet successor states, the government commands near total control of the electronic media, which in turn parrots the official line much as it did under the old Communist system.



The author at a Pro-Solidarity rally in front of the Polish Consulate in Manhattan.

In this environment, the journalists of RFE-RL are often looked on as paragons of objectivity. It is for this reason that thoughtful democrats like Vaclav Havel have protested American plans to close down RFE-RL services to their countries.

The Radios are also looked on as a critical link with the West, and particularly the United States, during a period when post Communist societies are attempting to build modern economies out of the ruined legacy of socialist planning. During the Cold War, RFE-RL programming on economic matters tended to focus on the inanities of state planning. Now, the Radios concentrate on explaining such basic concepts as checking accounts, investment, risk-taking and stock markets—practices and institutions which often seem as alien to post-Communist societies as the intricacies of nuclear physics.

Radios coverage of international affairs has also taken on a new significance in the post-Communist

era. This, again, may seem ironic given the systematic distortion of foreign affairs reporting which went on under Communist rule. The problem now, however, is a serious dearth of international reporting due to the financially straitened conditions of the East European press. The vast network of foreign correspondents which was supported during the Communist period has been radically reduced as press subsidies have been eliminated.

Meanwhile, the need for East Europeans to have access to accurate information about

American and West European policies and attitudes has grown significantly as countries like Poland, Hungary and Russia attempt to become integrated in the world economy.

During the Cold War, RFE-RL's principal assignment was to break the totalitarian media monopoly which systematically deprived East Europeans not only of information about the outside world, but, more important, about what was going on in their own countries. Today, the Radios' major task is to help stabilize democracy in countries where democracy's roots are, to put mildly, fragile. The Radios clearly succeeded in the first objective. It would be altogether unfortunate if their signal were to be turned off before the second challenge of democracy building were completed. (Z)

Arch Puddington is a senior scholar at Freedom House in New York. He is working on a history of Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty.

Because radio waves can penetrate where soldiers and diplomats cannot, the radio often has served as a teacher and an informer, sharing objective truths for anyone who wanted to listen.

THEY KEPT HOPE ALIVE OVER THE RADIO WAVES

By Joseph B. Bruns

ACTING ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR THE BUREAU OF BROADCASTING

A CURIOUS WORLD approaches the year 2,000—the turn of a century and a millennium. While the world's thirst for accurate information seems unquenchable, the communications and political revolutions of the past few years have dramatically altered the environment in which international broadcasters operate.

While debate in the media has focused on the structure of U.S. international broadcasting—how the Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) will be organized in the federal government—we should also take the opportunity in the midst of the cacophony to review why broadcasting continues to be an important and efficient tool of U.S. foreign policy.

The Voice of America, begun more than 50 years ago, and later Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, have served as intellectual lifelines to people denied access to basic information by their own governments. These broadcasts kept hope alive by presenting objective truth in the form of uncensored news and information during long years when no one else was doing so. Unlike traditional diplomatic efforts, they reached millions of ordinary people in the relative privacy of their homes. Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, Lizhi Fang and scores of lesser-known leaders of democratic movements have lavished praise on the American broadcasters for their support of basic freedoms.

Conversely, Chinese leaders were so incensed at Voice of America's factual coverage of the student uprising at Tiananmen Square that to this day they attempt to jam Voice of America's broadcasts.

Recently, the broadcasters' role has been expanded to include practical advice on the formation of grass-roots democracy and free enterprise.

English teaching has also become a staple of the Voice of America. Radio Liberty's local coverage of events within the former Soviet Union remains without parallel.

As societies have begun to open, more opportunities have arisen for placement of programming on local radio stations, reducing the reliance on scratchy, short-wave transmissions. Audience is still counted in the tens—if not hundreds—of millions.

But the world did not suddenly emerge harmonious from the rubble of the Berlin Wall. Religious intolerance and ethnic strife have moved into the vacuum left by the demise of communism. The North Korean regime either has—or is—close to developing nuclear weapons. And the electoral success of Zhirinovsky in Russia should serve as a



Listeners gather to hear an early Voice of America broadcast.

reminder that weeds can sprout even in democratic fields.

At the same time, the path to independent media in formerly closed societies has been fraught with dangers. New democrats have found independent media to be an annoyance, and some unfortunate crackdowns have occurred.

Radio waves can penetrate where soldiers and diplomats cannot. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty continue to provide a touchstone against which local media can be tested. The Voice of America's coverage of the U.S. and our

These broadcasts have served over the years as intellectual lifelines to people everywhere who were denied access to basic information by their own governments.

government's policies is a window on the most important country in the world.

The United States has at its disposal an inexpensive and effective means to

inform public opinion anywhere in the world, whenever and wherever conflict and instability occur.

Broadcasting by radio—and in some cases by television—will continue to be a critical means of projecting American foreign policy for decades to come. The independence of these broadcast services must be maintained. Their real value is in their long-term reliability as a source of information, not in their ability to control it or put favorable spin on a story. Whatever structure is eventually settled on by Congress, taxpayers should insist that this reliable, safe and popular tool remains available. ☉

Even though they've got the green light, the timid Czech media still doesn't realize what freedom really means.

COMMUNISM IS DEAD— BUT SO IS THE PRESS

By Julia Flynn

LONDON CORRESPONDENT FOR *BUSINESS WEEK*

IT WAS AN ASPHYXIATING start. In February, 1993, when I arrived in Prague to begin a five-month leave of absence from *Business Week* to work at the Center for Independent Journalism, the Czech capital was choking through a smog alert. Pollution levels were eight times higher than the safe-air levels set by the World Health Organization. Children and old people were warned to stay indoors. Cars were banned from the city center. Los Angeles, where I'd worked several years back, never seemed this bad.

But if Prague's pollution was a surprise, so was almost everything else.

My job was to organize and moderate a weekly series of discussions among business and economics leaders and the nascent Czech business press. I also taught business reporting as an adjunct in Columbia University's classes for Charles University journalism students. The tough part was working in a city where everything was changing so fast—who was in power, how business was done, where to get a decent cup of java without coffee grounds floating on the surface.

Prague, for one, was hardly recognizable from the austere (and inexpensive city) I remembered from my last trip in 1991. For one thing, prices had skyrocketed. The average Czech's salary was 4,427 crowns a month, about \$152. Even Czech employees of Western companies made, on average, the equivalent of \$217. Despite the pain of economic transformation and rising food prices, some Czechs were cashing in. A Jaguar dealership opened a few doors down from the Palac Lucerna, the building where I worked. Several golf courses had catered to the country's newly rich. Viktor Kozeny, the 30-something Harvard Capital & Consulting head who controls 10 percent of the country's available stock, could frequently be found in the snazziest of the city's spanking new health clubs. My first evening out

was to the Czech Entrepreneurs Ball, held by a group nicknamed the "Millionaires Club."

But the pace of change in the Czech media wasn't nearly so rapid. I discovered that

even though Communism was officially dead, the press still wasn't truly free in the Western sense of the word. Most newspapers, for example, still rely on CSTK, the Czech news agency, for the bulk of their information. And CSTK reporters, in turn, rely on government spokesmen and bureaucrats. Stories written from press conferences aren't usually much more than verbatim transcripts of the meetings. Yet they fill up much of the space each day in the newspapers. If reporters are frustrated by such arid information, just imagine how readers feel, stuck with reams of dull, grey text.

The editor of the big trade-union daily, *Prace*, illuminated



the problem with a joke: "Reagan and Gorbachev are meeting in Prague for a summit. As part of the pomp and ceremony, a line of impressively large missiles are rolled down through Wenceslas Square. Reagan asks if they are the biggest the Soviet bloc has. Gorbachev says no, pointing to an even larger bunch rolling past. Reagan asks whether these are the most powerful weapons in the Soviet arsenal, Gorbachev again says no, motioning

toward a line of flabby, grey men wearing ill-fitting polyester suits and cheap shoes.

"These are our secret weapon," he

cries. "Nothing can get through the Czech bureaucrat!"

Another reason the Czech press tends to produce dull stories is that they don't yet recognize the tension that

underlies many dry announcements. It's not that they don't understand the theory of capitalism. They do. One even pulled a 2-inch-thick edition of Paul Samuelson's economics textbook out of his office closet to prove it.

What they don't get are the shadings of the market system: how—on a nuts-and-bolts level—it actually works. That may be why the press painted such a rosy picture of the free market. What they didn't understand was that a wide-open economic system is filled with dislocations and bankruptcies.

continued on page 54



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<i>Ray Moseley</i>	<i>Liz Sly</i>
<i>Linnet Myers</i>	<i>Howard Witt</i>

Chicago Tribune

Even in wartime, no foreign journalist who has covered Israel has ever been expelled or brought up on charges

IN ISRAEL, YOU CAN TELL IT LIKE IT IS

By Andrew Meisels

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE 300-STRONG foreign press corps permanently based in Israel is by far the largest in the Middle East, as well as one of the largest in the world.

The reason for this is simple. Alone in the region, Israel has a free society, a free press, a free flow of information.

Journalists who cover the story on a daily basis may have the occasional run-in with a thick-headed army sergeant, the occasional hassle with a by-the-book bureaucrat, the occasional argument with the military censor.

When that happens, we complain—often loudly—just as we would in the United States. And our complaints frequently make headlines in the Israeli press and come up for parliamentary debate in the Knesset.

Yet even while we complain, most of us are aware that Israel is the only nation in the area where we *can* complain without fear of reprisal, expulsion, arrest or worse. No foreign journalist who has covered Israel in the 46 years of its existence has ever been expelled or brought up on charges—not in five major wars, two wars of attrition, decades of terrorism and a missile blitz from Iraq.

Like other democracies, Israel has military censorship in time of war. The catch is that Israel has been in a state of war since 1948, with military censorship ever since. As journalists, we naturally resent all censorship. Yet it must be noted that Israel's censor can deal only with stories involving national security—not political issues.

I can write an opinion piece saying that Israel's policy is heavy-handed and wrong; I can quote Palestinians who claim

to have been tortured by Israeli troops; I can broadcast the sights and sounds of violent anti-government demonstrations; I can interview a settler who calls for the overthrow of Yitzhak Rabin and broadcast that interview from Tel Aviv. The censor can't touch any of it.

But if I try to report on a continuing Israeli military operation in Lebanon, or give the size of forces or details of operational plans, the censor will pencil it out. The argument here is that giving out such information could endanger the lives of troops in the field.

In any event, most of our day-to-day work doesn't involve the censor at all. It does involve coping with an almost uninterrupted flow of news on politics, terrorism and the peace process. And it involves keeping abreast of shifts in public opinion, economics and the cultural life of both Israelis and Palestinians.

Getting the information is relatively easy; it flows in from all over the place, including the Israel Government Press office, which has a special phone hookup to foreign journalists. A great deal of my job is sifting and analyzing, deciding what's really important and what's just self-serv-



ing or simply irrelevant.

Access to public figures is open and informal. Israel may be the only country in the world in which foreign correspondents are given the daily schedules of top ministers. Palestinian leaders are even easier to reach than Israelis. One can find them in Jerusalem's New Orient House or call them at home. They are happy to talk to foreign journalists as a way of getting their message across to the world.

Israel's parliament is open to coverage, and Knesset members are readily accessible. If you don't feel like going to the parliamentary sessions, you can watch them live on a special Israel TV channel.

And then there is "the leak," which Israel has developed into a fine art. All governments vow to stop leaks, yet all governments have always leaked. Government meetings are closed to the press, but any journalist can find out what went on and who said what within minutes after the meeting ends.

Every now and again there is a real secret—and Israel knows how to keep a real secret—like the secret negotiations that went on with the PLO in Oslo last year.

Israel has a major English-language daily, *The Jerusalem Post*, and five radio and television news broadcasts in English every day. An English-language news magazine, *The Jerusalem Report*, appears twice a month.

And for foreign correspondents who know Hebrew, the Israeli media is a cornucopia. Radio stations cover major news events live, putting dozens of reporters into the field, while the country's two television channels have news programs that are thoroughly professional.

The Hebrew press is free, irreverent and often feisty, offering everything from exposés and inside stories to kitchen gossip. Not all the stories in all the papers are necessarily completely true, but they are good stories and sometimes provide useful leads.

For those who know Arabic, the Palestinian press reflects the entire spectrum of political opinion in the occupied territories, from pro-Jordanian to the PLO to those who oppose the peace process with Israel altogether. Articles tend to be colored by the political orientation of any given paper but, again, they can be useful.

And, after a while, foreign correspondents find that they can develop their own news sources—sources which sometimes prefer having a specific item appear abroad first, before bouncing back here.

Israel has been a major world story since the Six Day War of 1967, and it shows no signs of abating. Now and again, the story slows down, tempting some news organizations to send reporters to hot spots elsewhere. But they tend to come scurrying back when the story resumes, usually with a bang. Somehow, it never seems to stop. That's why we're here. ☺



CBS News. Where Your World Comes Together.

Latin American journalists are reaching out to their countrymen, trying to change stagnant governments and shape a new public opinion. Standing in their way is job insecurity, heavy intimidation and even murder.

WHO WILL HAVE THE LAST WORD?

By Judith Evans

CONSULTANT ON LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WHEN MANY of Latin America's military governments began to tumble in the early 1980s, the newly elected civilian governments faced a press that had atrophied under repressive regimes. A decade later the media is flexing new muscles all over the region as 80 percent of Latin Americans go to the polls between now and early 1995. In many countries the press is virtually the voice of the opposition while, in almost all mediums, the political reporting exudes vitality and pugnaciousness.

Not that the press in Latin America is without problems or beyond reproach. The press—and I'm including radio, which continues to be extremely important in Latin America, and television, which is rapidly becoming a political arbiter—is still shackled by ownership structures, by limited circulation in some countries, and by economic conditions, some familiar and some previously unknown. Opportunities for reporters to obtain additional expertise are practically nonexistent and working conditions are generally poor.

Nor, unhappily, are Latin America's men and women of the press free from censorship, threats and even death. Six journalists were killed in Latin America in 1993, despite the last decade's decline in political turbulence, says the most recent annual survey of the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ).

What is absolutely critical for an understanding of Latin America's press is, paradoxically, to stop thinking of it as "Latin American" and to focus instead on each individual country. While there are general trends and some fortuitous commonalities that invite a regional vision, the temptation has to be resisted. For example, the differences between the context in which the press operates in Brazil and that in Mexico tell us far more than any shared elements.

In fact, contrasting the Brazilian and Mexican media is a good place to start for understanding the wide divergence in the way media have adapted both the economic and the political changes that have taken place in the last 10 years.

Within eight years of Brazil's emergence from 20 years of military rule, the press led the popular efforts to depose an elected president. By tenaciously pursuing their investigations into the corruption charges against Fernando Collor de Mello, journalists made a critical contribution to his impeachment. In a nation where political power is disbursed in over a dozen political parties, the press has become the most coherent shaper of public opinion and of the new democracy itself.

Moreover, Brazil's media is by far the most professional and the most international. One indication is the number



of Brazilian journalists abroad. Economic difficulties have had impact on both of these factors, as they often do throughout Latin America. Still, even today Brazil has more correspondents based overseas than any other Latin American country, although fewer than there were two to three years ago when public finances had not deteriorated to the current extent.

Mexico—theoretically one of the world's most stable democracies—is another story. One-party rule by the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) for 65 years has assured an easily manipulable press. The PRI's hegemony was often backed by physical intimidation and, according to human rights organizations, even murder. The toll of suspicious deaths among journalists just last year was five.

Improvements are, nonetheless, being made in some areas. Economic reform has reduced the clout the PRI

exercised through its control of government advertising and newsprint subsidies. The new economic environment has also created spaces for new publications like *El Financiero*, the most important business paper, while the boom in the border states is reflected in the growth of newspapers like Monterrey's *El Norte*, which has recently begun publishing a national paper out of Mexico City. In addition, there are one or two publications that don't kowtow to the government, like the magazine *Proceso* and

La Jornada, a left-wing newspaper. Yet, as the CPJ points out, Mexico continues to

The Latin American press is not without problems, but it's pugnacious. independent press of any

major country in the hemisphere. This damning conclusion has been reconfirmed since the January uprising in Chiapas. For four or five days, depending on the area, the press was not allowed into combat zones or permitted to investigate what was suspected to be an army massacre in Ocosingo. Televisa, the giant television network, did not cover the uprising until peace talks began.

In general, other Latin American nations don't present as clear a picture as Mexico and Brazil. There are, however, two exceptions: Cuba—where censorship is virtually total—and Haiti, where the press has been under vicious attack since the September 1991 coup.

The Argentine media is frequently criticized for its muck-raking reports on the scandal-ridden government of President Carlos Menem. But for all its rowdiness and tawdriness, the press—both newspapers and television—has certainly provided a forum for its citizens' views. This role, however, has not gone without challenges from the government. Several journalists were threatened with legal action by President Menem, and

continued on page 50

Will the South African press be a help—or a hindrance—during this country's transition to democracy?

CAN SOUTH AFRICA NEGOTIATE A REVOLUTION?

By Richard S. Steyn

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, *THE STAR*, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

IN SOUTH AFRICA, we are going it alone, trying to negotiate a revolution.

For those living through it, I must tell you that the process is hugely unsettling. Whites are uncertain about the future, fearful and deeply cynical. Blacks are excited, expectant, but fearful too. The atmosphere is one of ferment as we design a nonracial constitution, create new national symbols, restructure the army and police forces, dismantle the homelands and reshape the entire country on the run, so to speak.

It is always difficult for those who live through cataclysmic change to retain perspective and take the long-term view. We have to remind ourselves that we are in the process of changing a system that has operated for some three and a half centuries, trying to turn an undemocratic, racist society into an inclusive, nonracial one in the space of a few short years, and without the benefit of an incoming economic tide.

Yet, although the negotiations have been between leaders rather than their followers, there is a grudging recognition that our various groups are doomed to get along with one another rather than split along racial and ethnic lines.

Surveys show that while blacks may not have much affection for whites, they realize that whites are needed if the new society is to prosper. The vast majority of whites realize that they have no option but to seek an accommodation with the black majority.

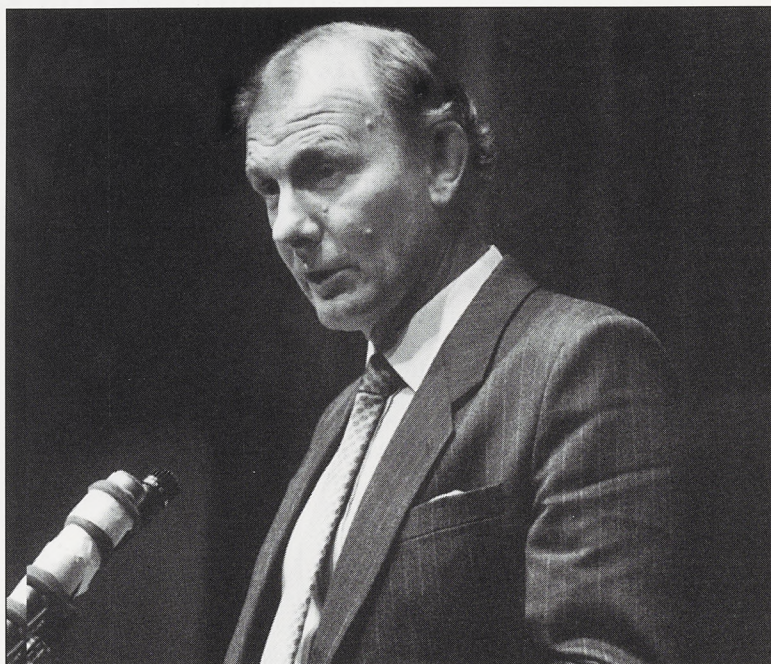
Now the length and the complexity of the transition process present a huge challenge to the South African media, ourselves debilitated by the apartheid years in many ways, and also by the long-lasting economic downturn in which only the fittest of the subsidized have survived.

Although our media are more sophisticated, perhaps, and more independent than their counterparts in most African countries, decades of minority rule have bequeathed us a lopsided media structure unsuited to the exacting demands that are now being placed upon it.

Until recently, the broadcast media, radio and television, with one or two exceptions, were owned or controlled by the government; the newspapers are still in the hands of four white-owned press groups with similar interests. The result has been a lack of access, by most of the population, to radio and television, and a press that is over-representative of one section of the population.

Belated efforts are now being made to rectify this situation, to widen the gateway through which news and opinions are presented to the public. But I think a fair and effective communications system capable of nourishing a healthy democracy will take many years in South Africa.

Another inhibiting factor is the climate of intolerance that exists. There is any number of recorded instances of journalists being threatened, roughed up and in some cases severely assaulted or killed by political hotheads with



axes to grind. When complaints are lodged with political organizations, there is much tut-tutting and promises of action, but little ever comes of it.

The situation is particularly difficult for black reporters living in urban townships. For them, to file stories critical of the prevailing political orthodoxy requires courage of the highest order. Not surprisingly, few are prepared to put their lives at stake by being politically incorrect, while some of the bravest opponents of apartheid have become steadily more disillusioned at the lip service paid to democracy by many of the political parties. I think it was my colleague Edward Claster who remarked that the threat to the press now comes much more from the grass roots than it does from the government.

Given the shortcomings and problems that I have mentioned, it would be unreasonable to expect too

much of the media in the transition to democracy. Our immediate task, in simple

terms, is two-fold: First, to explain to a largely unsophisticated electorate the rudiments of transition politics and the

multi-party democracy, and second, our more traditional role of reporting, describing and commenting upon the activities of the competing parties.

Now the explanatory role, the educative role, falls primarily but not entirely upon radio, because studies show that while large parts of South Africa are beyond the reach of newspapers and television, virtually everyone in the country has access to a transistor radio. Television will be extremely influential in the urban areas. But newspapers remain the medium best suited to detailed reporting and careful analysis of political events, hence their continuing importance to politicians and policymakers.

continued on page 55

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THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB



Annual Awards

ALLAN DODDS FRANK & MICHAEL S. SERRILL
OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS CO-CHAIRMAN

Post Cold War turmoil once more dominated the news last year. As many of the major conflicts—notably in Somalia and the Balkans—evolved, news from the front brought continuing reports of brutality in spite of United Nations peacekeeping efforts. And the presence of U.N. troops did little to diminish hazards for journalists. Once again the assignment of bringing home the truth proved dangerous, as many of our colleagues fell wounded or killed.

No single region dominated the 362 entries submitted for the OPC's 15 awards categories. Reporters submitted prize-winning dispatches from, among other locales, Mogadishu, Moscow, Beijing and Paris. Latin America and the Caribbean edged their way back into journalistic consciousness, with winning datelines from Haiti, Mexico, El Salvador and Ecuador.

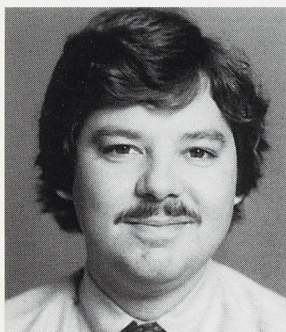
Two great themes preoccupied foreign correspondents: The continuing political realignment of the world in the wake of the collapse of communism, with political, social and military upheavals breaking out from Johannesburg to St. Petersburg, and the rise of free enterprise as the only model for economic reform, with the most dynamic example the business and industrial boom in mainland China.

Our thanks to the devoted team of judges who put in long hours of reading, watching and listening to pluck the best entries from the merely excellent. Our thanks too to the news organizations large and small that understand the importance of committing the tremendous resources necessary to bringing the public an understanding of global events.

With these awards, the Overseas Press Club pays tribute to the hardworking men and women whose intellect, courage and devotion to the truth serves us all so well.



Overseas Press Club Awards



Class 1

RICK LYMAN

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER,
AFRICA BUREAU CHIEF

The Hal Boyle Award for best daily newspaper
or wire service reporting from abroad.
Honorarium of \$1,000 from AT&T

"Somalia"

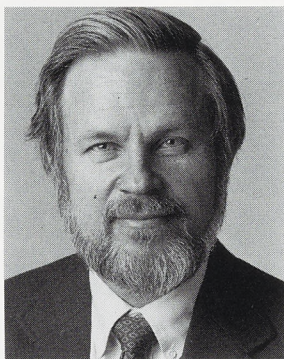
Using thorough reporting and incisive analysis, Lyman makes clear why the U.N. and U.S. humanitarian mission to Somalia has turned into a quagmire of war and chaos. He examines in detail the misperceptions, wrong turns and mistaken goals that resulted in street battles with an elusive "enemy," General Mohammed Farah Aidid, instead of the peace and stability the U.N. coalition set out to achieve.

Class 2

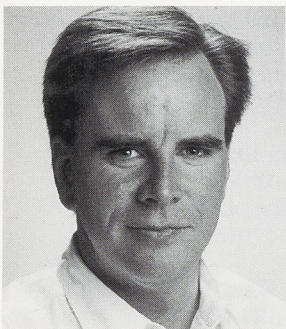
R.C. LONGWORTH

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, SENIOR WRITER

The Bob Considine Award for best daily
newspaper or wire service
interpretation of foreign affairs
Honorarium of \$1,000 from
King Features Syndicate
"Wounded Guardian"



Longworth does a masterful job of describing and analyzing the U.N.'s new role in the world, pointing out the sometimes disastrous flaws in its organization and operations, and making recommendations for improvements. His editors are to be commended for allowing him to take the story beyond bureaucracy-bound U.N. headquarters in New York to Cyprus, ex-Yugoslavia, Somalia and El Salvador to examine the undertakings of this "wounded guardian" in the world's hot spots.



Class 3

PAUL WATSON

THE TORONTO STAR, CORRESPONDENT

The Robert Capa Gold Medal for photographic
reporting from abroad requiring exceptional
courage and enterprise
Honorarium of \$1,000 and Gold Medal from LIFE
"Mogadishu"

Paul Watson's daring and horrific photo of Somalis dragging the body of an American serviceman in Mogadishu forced people to rethink what was happening in Somalia. The judges agreed that he showed extreme courage and enterprise in reportedly being the only North American journalist to remain in Mogadishu during a very difficult and dangerous time.

CITATIONS

GEORGE RODRIGUE

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS,
For his reporting on Europe

NICHOLAS KRISTOF

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
For his reporting on China

LOS ANGELES TIMES STAFF

"Legions of Gloom: Dangerous
Disarray in the Red Army"

Overseas Press Club Awards

Class 4A

JAMES NACHTWEY

TIME MAGAZINE

The Olivier Rebbot Award

for best photography in magazines and books

Honorarium for \$1,000 from Newsweek

"Sudan"

**THE ASSOCIATED
PRESS STAFF**

For the Best Photography

in newspapers and wire services

Honorarium of \$1,000 from Eastman Kodak

Professional Photograph Division

"Hardliner Protest in Russia"

Class 4B

CITATIONS

LUC DELAHAYE

SIPA,

FOR NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE

For a series at Kosevo

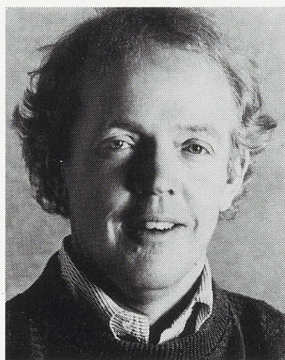
Hospital in Sarajevo

MAGGIE STEBER

NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE,

For her coverage of Haiti

Class 5



MELISSA BLOCK, producer
NOAH ADAMS, reporter

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO,

"ALL THINGS CONSIDERED"

The Lowell Thomas Award

for best radio interpretation or documentary of foreign affairs

Honorarium of \$1,000 from Capital Cities/ABC News

"Serbia Has Risen: Nationalism and the War in Bosnia"

Adams and Block's reports from the Serbian side exposed American listeners to voices rarely heard in coverage of the Bosnian war. Their finely observed, beautifully crafted series bore compelling witness to the war's tragic complexity.

DANIEL MOREL

ASSOCIATED PRESS,

For his coverage in Haiti

CORINNE DUFKA

REUTERS,

For her coverage in
the former Yugoslavia

MICHAEL SULLIVAN
ALEX CHADWICK

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO,

"Living Through the
Haitian Embargo"

Overseas Press Club Awards

Class 6

CNN

CNN NEWS GATHERING TEAM
FOR COVERAGE OF THE MOSCOW UPRISING

The David Kaplan Award

for best television spot news reporting from abroad
Honorarium of \$1,000 from Capital Cities/ABC News

"Crisis in Russia"

Once again, CNN defined the meaning of TV spot news with its nearly uninterrupted coverage of the violent October confrontations in Moscow. As the forces of Russian President Boris Yeltsin faced off against challenges from Aleksander Rutskoi and the Parliament, CNN gave its audience a vivid "you are there" account.

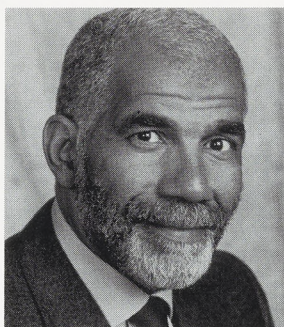
Class 7

CBS NEWS, "60 MINUTES"

ED BRADLEY, CORRESPONDENT

The Edward R. Murrow Award for best
television interpretation or documentary
on foreign affairs

Honorarium of \$1,000 from CBS News



In two segments, the correspondent Ed Bradley and the 60 Minutes crew first took an unprecedented tour of sites where Russian nuclear missiles were aimed at the U.S. and then covered a visit to the Strategic Air Command, directly resulting from the first report, by the general in charge of Russian rocket forces. The impact was dramatic, both in understanding of what might happen if nuclear war should break out and in hopes for eventual peace.

Class 8

DOUGLAS STANGLIN, SUSAN HEADDEN, PETER CARY

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

The Ed Cunningham Memorial Award

for best magazine reporting from abroad in magazines
Honorarium of \$1,000 from Mead Data Central

"America's Top-Secret Spy War"

This classic piece of investigative journalism began when a young man from Fargo, N.D., came to Moscow to try to find out what happened to his father, an American pilot who was shot down over the Soviet Union in 1953. More than 150 interviews and 20,000 declassified documents later, this team of U.S. News journalists uncovered an extraordinary secret war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that lasted for 20 years, a secret war in which 31 U.S. aircraft were shot down, and in which 138 American airmen went missing and remain unaccounted for to this day.

CITATIONS

NBC NIGHTLY NEWS WITH TOM BROKAW

For coverage of Sarajevo and Bosnia

ABC NEWS "NIGHTLINE"

For the attempted
October coup in Moscow

"Moment of Crisis:
Anatomy of a Revolution"

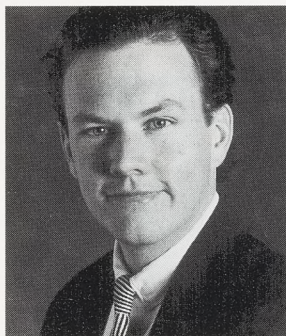
JANE KRAMER

THE NEW YORKER,
"Neo-Nazis: A Chaos
in the Head"

DENISE TOPOLNICKI

MONEY MAGAZINE,
"The World's
Five Best Ideas"

Overseas Press Club Awards



Class 9

MIKE LUCKOVICH

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION

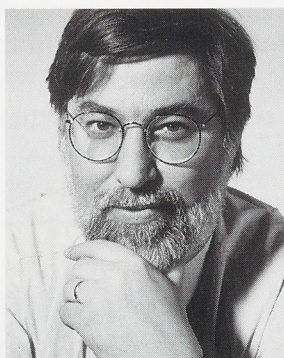
Best cartoon on foreign affairs
Honorarium of \$1,000 from
Newsday/New York Newsday

Class 10

KEVIN MUEHRING

INSTITUTIONAL INVESTOR,
EUROPEAN BUREAU CHIEF

*The Morton Frank Award for best business
reporting from abroad in magazines*
Honorarium of \$1,000 from
The Family of Morton Frank
"Jacques Attali's Last Days"



Muehring scrutinized the head of the new European Development Bank in a devastating—but fair—fashion, documenting the excessive spending, the imperial style, the disregard for public sensibilities. Mr. Muehring combined enterprise reporting with a keen sense of drama, a flair for story telling and a first-rate analytical ability.

Class 11

SHARON SCHNICKLE

MINNEAPOLIS STAR TRIBUNE

*The Malcolm Forbes Award for best business reporting
from abroad in newspapers or wire services*
Honorarium of \$1,000 from Forbes Magazine
"GATT Accord from
French Farmer's Perspective"

In a remarkable feat of enterprise reporting, Ms. Schnickle sought out French farmers who had vigorously protested aspects of the new GATT accord. Her reporting illustrated the importance of the human factor in diplomacy—how everyday lives are touched by the global processes.

**CNN BUSINESS
NEWS TEAM**

*The Carl Spielvogel Award for best business and/or economic
news reporting from abroad by a broadcaster*
Honorarium of \$1,000 from
Ms. Barbaralee Diamonstein
"Swords to Plowshares: The Price of Peace"

Class 12

CITATIONS

HERBERT BLOCK

THE WASHINGTON POST

**STEPHEN BAKER
GERI SMITH
ELIZABETH WEINER**

BUSINESSWEEK MAGAZINE,
"The Mexican Worker"

**BRIAN BREMMER
LEE MILLER**

BLOOMBERG BUSINESS NEWS,
"Thailand Bursting
at the Seams"

Overseas Press Club Awards

Class 13

SHEILA MACVICAR, *correspondent*

SUSAN AASEN, *producer*

TOM YELLIN, *executive producer*

ABC NEWS "DAY ONE"

The Madeline Dane Ross Award

for the best foreign correspondent in any medium

showing a concern for the human condition

Honorarium of \$1,000 from Julia Edwards

"Scarred For Life"

A compelling and sensitive television exploration of female genital mutilation—an ancient ritual inflicted on 100 million women worldwide. MacVicar and Aasen, who spent six months in Africa, captured in their report the way young girls are exposed to the debilitating surgery, which is intended to prevent promiscuity and is responsible for countless deaths of young girls and lifelong health problems for adult women.

Class 14

MARK DANNER

THE NEW YORKER

The Eric and Amy Burger Award

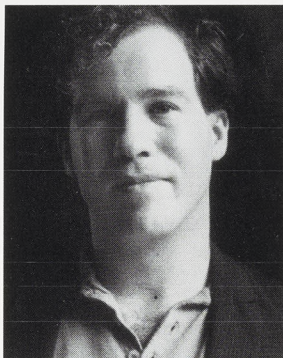
for best reporting in any medium

dealing with human rights

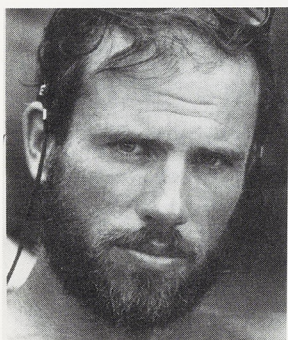
Honorarium of \$1,000 from

The Estate of Eric and Amy Burger

"The Truth of El Mozote"



In an exhaustively reported and beautifully written story, Mark Danner reconstructed the events of a 1981 civilian massacre carried out by the Salvadoran army, which was armed and trained by the U.S. government. Danner interviewed survivors, military men, former U.S. diplomats and journalists to learn how the massacre took place and how it was covered up by the U.S. government and ignored by major U.S. newspapers.



Class 15

JOE KANE

THE NEW YORKER

The Whitman Bassow Award

for best reporting in any medium

on environmental issues

Honorarium of \$1,000 from AT&T

"With Spears From All Sides"

CITATIONS

TONY BIRTLEY

ABC NEWS, "NIGHTLINE"

"Bearing Witness"

TOM SQUITIERI

USA TODAY

"Voice for the Voiceless"

**DALLAS MORNING
NEWS TEAM**

For a series of articles about
Violence Against Women

For a list of

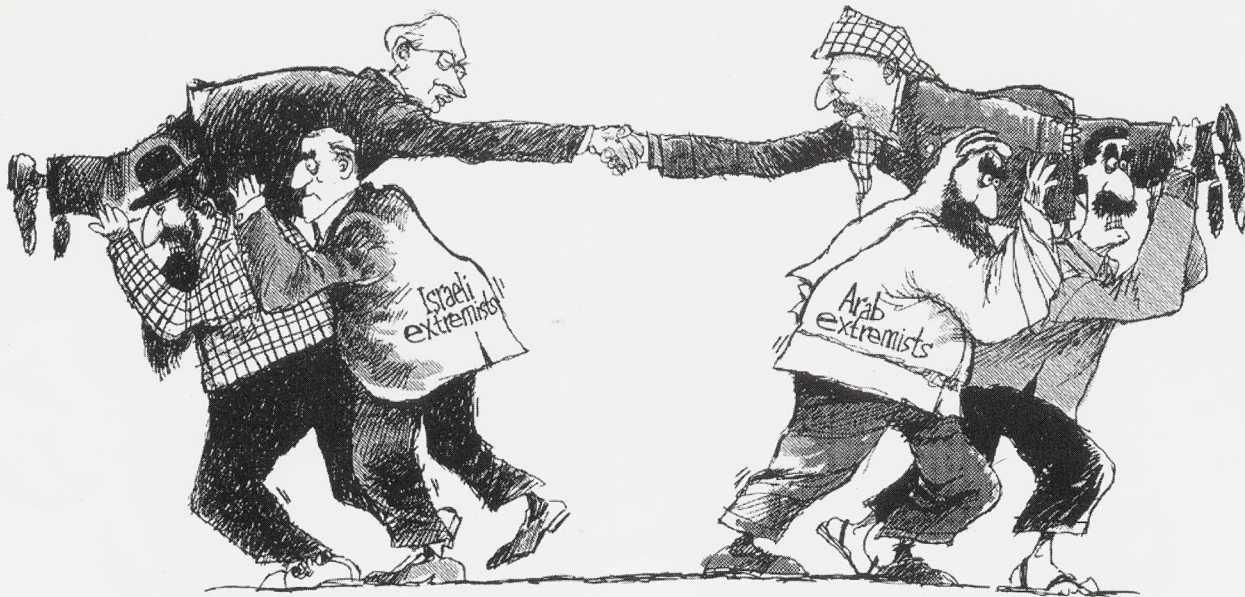
Judges

&

Sponsors please

turn to page 44

Overseas Press Club Awards



Mike Luckovich
ATLANTA INSTITUTION



THE SERBIAN AIR DROPS



Class 9 Award Winner
Mike Luckovich

Class 9 Citation Winner
"Herblock" Herbert Block

Overseas Press Club Awards



Class 4b Award Winner
**THE ASSOCIATED
PRESS STAFF**

OLGA SHALYGIN

As mounted riot police try to control an unruly crowd in Moscow, an elderly, pro-Communist supporter looks on.



Class 3 Award Winner

PAUL WATSON

The body of an American soldier is dragged through the streets of Mogadishu after numerous battles that resulted in the deaths of 18 troops.



Class 4b Award Winner

**THE ASSOCIATED
PRESS STAFF**

PETER DEJONG

Top--A Russian Army crew member leads a
convoy of 40 armored vehicles into
downtown Moscow to stand near the Kremlin
and the Defense Ministry building.

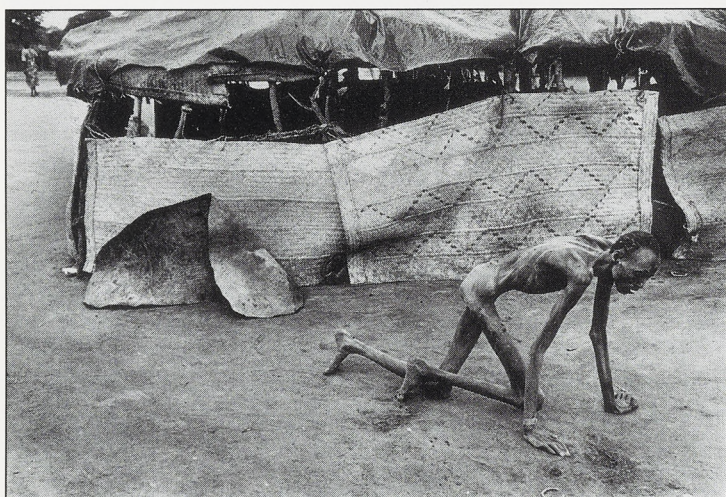
ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO

Right--The relatives of Viktor Gogolev,
26--a victim of a stray bullet--weep
at his gravesite at the Khovanskoe
Cemetery in a Moscow suburb.

ALEXANDER SHOGIN

Below--Holding a white flag, an anti-
Yeltsin demonstrator leads a group of
negotiators and other anti-Yeltsin protesters
from the Parliament building in Moscow.





Class 3 Award Winner
JAMES NACHTWEY

Top left: A famine victim in Sudan stares at a plate.

Above: Another famine victim crawls across a dirt road.

Right: As insects crawl over his body and a child lies asleep in his lap, a man drinks from a large gourd.

IN MEMORY OF THREE



HANSI KRAUSS

Top left: At a United Nations checkpoint in Mogadishu, a boy holds his arms up as he walks by to show U.S. soldiers he's unarmed.

HOS MAINA

Right: A famine victim searches among the refuse in Mogadishu. In Somalia, thousands have died from famine and other diseases.



DAN ELDON

Below: U.S. Marine Lance Cpl. Harold Clawson, stands guard in Mogadishu's business district, next to a mosque that has been hit by a shell.



Judges

CLASS 1 & 2:

Michael S. Serrill, chair
Marc Levinson
Anne Nelson
Kitty Pilgrim

CLASS 3 & 4:

Vincent Alabiso, chair
Michel DuCille
Maggie Steber
Jim Colton

CLASS 5 & 6:

David Anderson, chair
Sharon Begley

CLASS 7 & 8:

John A. Dierdorff, chair
Mervin Block
Josh Friedman
Charles R. Novitz

CLASS 9:

Andrew Nibley, chair
Ed Jackson
Dwight Sargent

CLASS 10:

James M. Donna, chair
Bill McBride
Ernest Tollerson

CLASS 11 & 12:

Pranay Gupte
Gretchen Morgenson
Allan Sloan

CLASS 13

Jerry Flint, chair
Alex Taylor
Sylvia Nasar

CLASS 14

Robert Teitelman, chair

CLASS 15

Caryn Friedman, chair
Renee Keller
Thelma Schorr
Caryl Stern

CLASS 16

William J. Holstein, chair
Dinah Lee,
Jay Matthews,
Elizabeth Weiner

CLASS 17

Joy Elliott, chair
Philip Boffey

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Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.
David Kaplan Award

CBS News
Edward R. Murrow Award

Mead Data Central
Ed Cunningham Award

Newsday/New York Newsday
Best Cartoon, Foreign Affairs

Family of Morton Frank
Morton Frank Award

Forbes
Malcolm Forbes Award

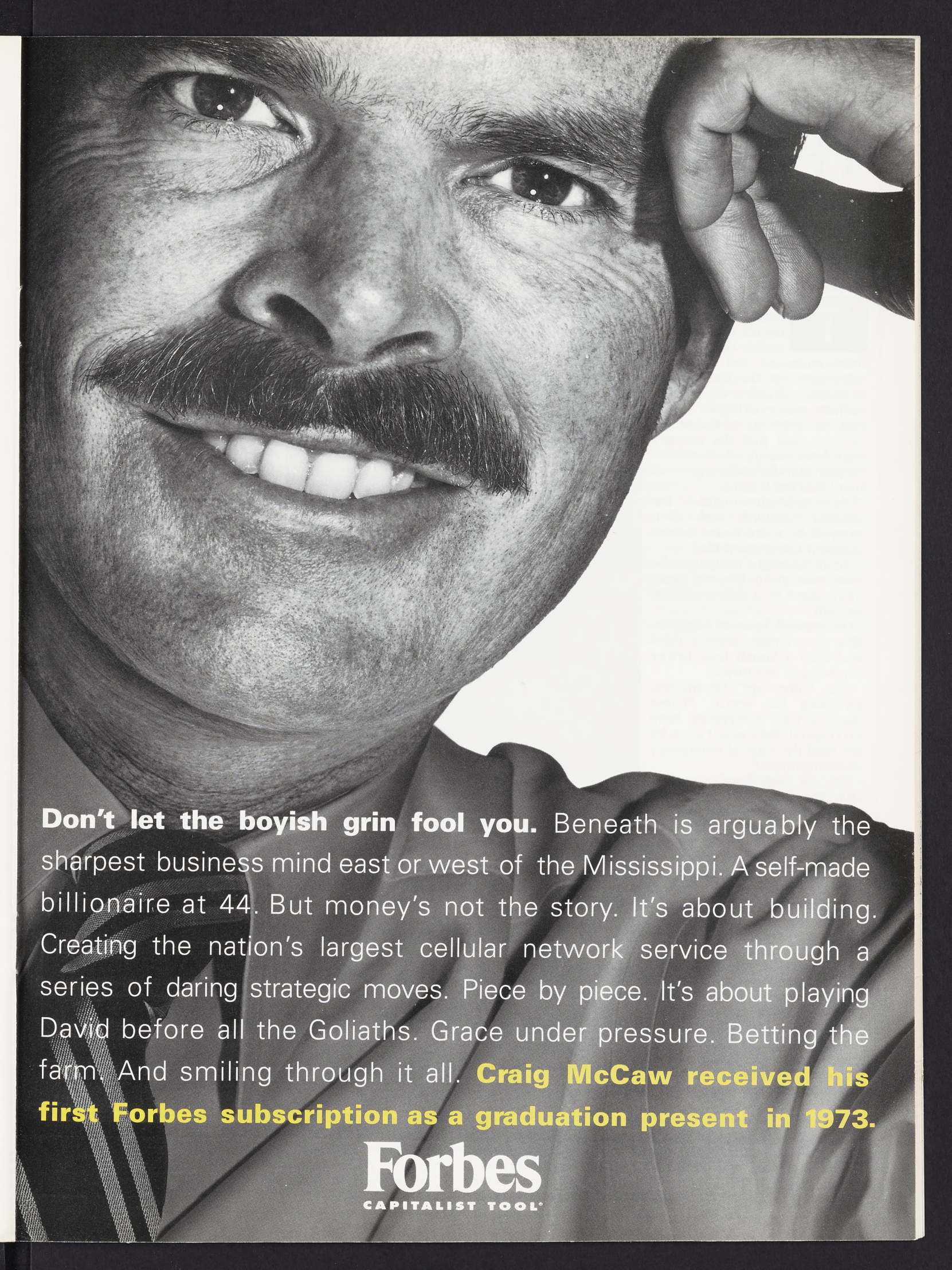
Barbaralee Diamonstein
Carl Spielvogel Award

Anita Diamant
Cornelius Ryan Award

Julia Edwards
Madeline Dane Ross Award

Estate of Eric & Amy Burger
Eric and Amy Burger Award

AT&T
Whitman Bassow Award



Don't let the boyish grin fool you. Beneath is arguably the sharpest business mind east or west of the Mississippi. A self-made billionaire at 44. But money's not the story. It's about building. Creating the nation's largest cellular network service through a series of daring strategic moves. Piece by piece. It's about playing David before all the Goliaths. Grace under pressure. Betting the farm. And smiling through it all. **Craig McCaw received his first Forbes subscription as a graduation present in 1973.**

Forbes
CAPITALIST TOOL

Tired of flat news and spoon-fed opinions, splashy private channels used satellites to catapult over Turkey's state television monopoly and its broadcasting laws.

THE TURKISH TV REVOLT: WHO'S THE BOSS?

By Thomas Goltz
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE FOUR STAR general cleared his throat, preparing to make the solemn announcement on national television: For the fourth time in as many decades, the Turkish military was evoking its sacred right to intervene in the affairs of state, and pull the country back from the pit of chaos and despair that the civilian government had led it into.

"As of midnight tonight—" the general intoned, and then stopped as a deodorant advertisement interrupted him.

"As of midnight tonight—" he tried once more, but was again interrupted by a different commercial.

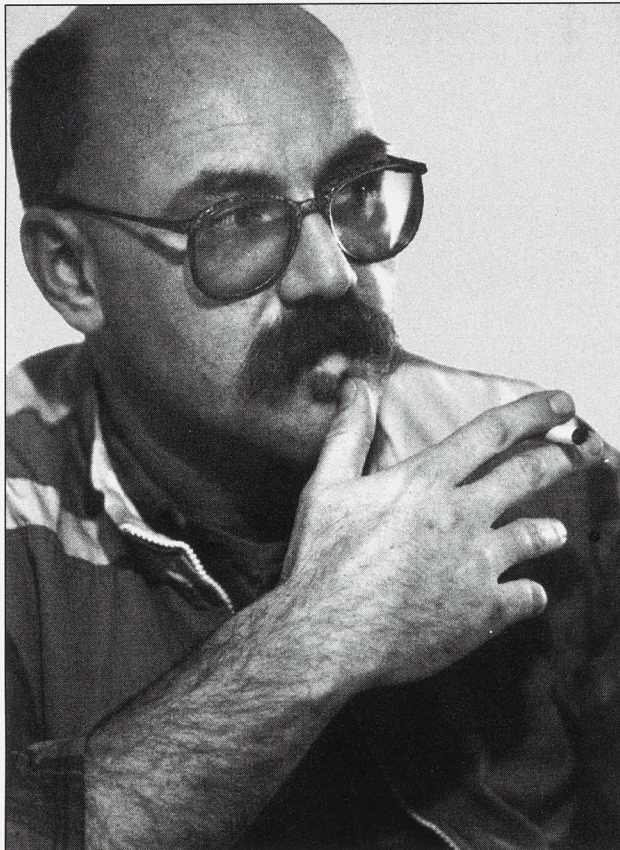
The general, by now recognizable as a comic, tried a third and then a fourth time before throwing in the towel.

"Oh, I give up!" he snarled, gnashing his teeth. "These damn private televisions have no respect! They won't even let me read the state of emergency announcement!"

The skit underlined a curious fact: The thin wedge of democratic pluralism has finally entered Turkey via the air waves. There are (at last count, anyway) 10 major private channels in the country plus an assortment of regional or local channels. Together, they represent a Wild West arena of current broadcasting and, arguably, the truest mirror on this curious, contradictory country of 60 million. On the fiercely competitive Prime Time News programs, everything is fair game—especially if it is "live."

"Before, Turkey was not a multi-vocal society because there was only one electronic voice—that of the state radio and television [TRT]," said Ufuk Guldemir, the general director of news at SHOW, one of the most popular new television stations. "The private stations have broken the communist state monopoly on information. We were a NATO member country with a Warsaw Pact mentality."

Hyperbolic or not, there are few in Turkey who would dispute Mr. Guldemir's basic message. While much has made of Ankara's expensive (and questionably successful) efforts to export "official" Turkish culture via the airwaves to the Turkish-speaking republics of the former Soviet Union, surprisingly little notice has been given to the phe-



nomenon of television outside official control at home—where a real sea of change has taken place in the way Turks receive information and, maybe, what they do with it.

A recent week's worth of surfing through the channels revealed a truly stunning difference in approach between TRT and the private channels about what was newsworthy. One example was a seemingly innocuous piece on the National Association of Retired People. While TRT panned a row of ministers nodding sagely while an announcer paraphrased the NARP chief's words of thanks to the government for its concern for retirees, two of the private channels aired a similar story but used the chairman's own words as he lambasted the same VIPs for ineptitude.

Even more revealing was the coverage of the recent bombing of the headquarters of the Democratic Party, which serves as the effective legal side of Kurdish nationalism in Turkey. While the private channels ran

the chairman's charge that the government was responsible for the blast, TRT blithely carried the messages of "regret" from the president and governing parties.

"How can anyone watch that crap anymore?" opined a former employee of TRT. "It is an insult to the intelligence."

TRT's response to the charge of being a government mouthpiece has been to give "equal time" to the election propaganda of all political parties with representation in

parliament in order of the number of seats they control. Ironically, "equal time" was a

major factor behind the setting up of Turkey's first private

channel in 1990—despite the fact that the equal time being sought was for the president. In a scenario that could only

play out in the country that is the heir to Byzantium,

Ahmed Ozal, the eldest son of the late Turgut Ozal, sought a license to open a channel but was denied by the new government of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, which had begun 'restricting' the elder Ozal's access to TRT due to general political mendacity.

"There was a lot of talk then that Star-1 was just a propaganda machine for my father," Ozal recalled. "But it was

According to Turkish law, all broadcasting originating inside the country is a monopoly of the government. His answer is to broadcast from Germany.

much more than that. It was the first use of television as a commercial medium as well as venue where different views might be expressed."

Mr. Ozal's problem was that, according to Turkish law, all broadcasting originating inside the country is a monopoly of the government. His answer was to broadcast from Germany via satellite. Others quickly used the same loophole in the broadcasting law, and within three years, there were 10 major private channels.

However little the current government (or any future government, for that matter) likes having lost the state monopoly on broadcasting, there is little it can do aside from grin and bear the price of electronic democracy, short of closing the stations by force. Moreover, in today's atmosphere, an attempt to shut them down would most likely result in mocking noncompliance. A foretaste was the miserable failure of the government to "regulate" pirate (or, non-state) radio broadcasts last summer.

The government, however, is still trying to re-impose some control by means of a law that would place control of the airwaves in the hands of a "High Board." More galling than the politically motivated censorship that this implies is the idea that the High Board would be supported by a 5 percent surcharge on station revenues.

"Is there a High Board for the press?" Ozal asked. "Do newspapers have to pay the government to censor them? It is an attempt to re-monopolize television in Turkey, and it will no longer work because no one will go along with it."

The government's excuse for the need of a control board is that certain channels have gone too far in their no-holds-barred approach to news, which often seems to border on malicious slander. Another complaint is that some stations air material so far beyond the bounds of traditional propri-

ety as to be pornographic. Producers admit that this sort of material is not only a big attraction in Turkey itself, but in neighboring countries that fall in the broadcast footprint.

"We get faxes from Egypt asking for more Tutti-Frutti," one producer chuckled, referring to a fleshy Italian import.


The satellite footprint was scheduled to grow much larger earlier this month with the launching of Turkey's first satellite, TurkSat. But the French missile propelling TurkSat failed to achieve orbit, and viewers in Central Asia and Iran will have to wait several more months before having the pleasure of seeing Tutti Frutti and other programs—over which none of their governments or the Turkish government will have any control.

For Turkey's small but intense intellectual class, all of this is very worrisome. Sales of major daily newspapers, bolstered by a give-away campaign

of encyclopedias, peaked at around one million last year but are now back

down to half that. The most "serious" newspaper in the country, *Cumhuriyet*, has daily sales of less

than 100,000. The record best-seller in the last two decades sold only 70,000 copies.

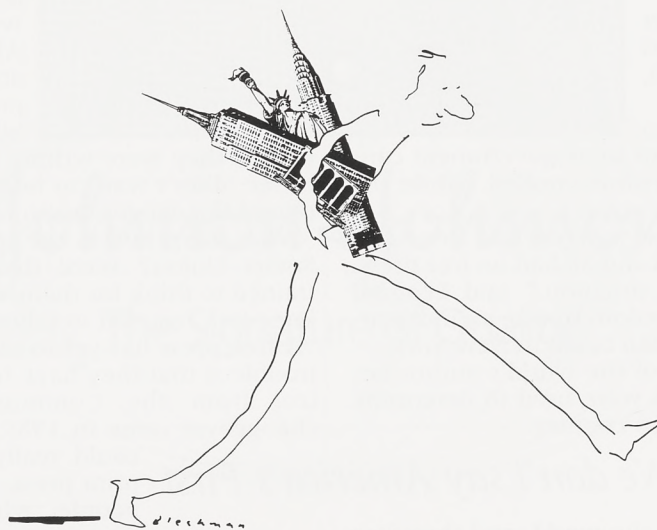
"While every household in the country has a multi-system television, it is difficult to find a bookcase, and those that you can find are designed to hold encyclopedias," said Murat Belge, the chairman of the progressive Iletisim Publishing House. Although he admits to a general distaste for television, Mr. Belge concedes that it is unlikely to go away any time soon, and that it may be time to explore how to change the much-maligned TRT into a BBC-type of state broadcasting or at least compliment it with something like the American PBS. 

Thomas Goltz, a freelancer based in Istanbul, has written for *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and *Business Week*.

For Turkey's small, but

intense, intellectual class,

this is all very worrisome.



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Out of 184 countries in the last year, 68 had free news media, 60 had a partly free press and 56 had no free press.

PRESS FREEDOM TAKES A BEATING IN 1993

By Sally Swing Shelley
UNITED NATIONS CORRESPONDENT

IT IS NO accident that the greatest press freedoms exist in traditional democracies such as those in Western Europe (and to a lesser degree, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia and Lithuania), the United States, Canada and Latin America. There is wide acceptance of a free press in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, French Guyana and Uruguay, while the others are semi-controlled. In the Caribbean, with the exception of Cuba and Haiti, the Islands enjoy media freedom.

Another surprise is to be found in Asia where Mongolia joins Australia and New Zealand, Japan and Korea as having a free press, while India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand, are semi-controlled, with the rest totally controlled.

Africa is almost entirely under total control. Only three nations enjoy press freedom: Mali, Namibia and Botswana.

With the exception of Israel, no press in the Middle East is free of some government control; Jordan and Yemen are semi-controlled, while the rest are under total control.

Out of 184 countries in the last year, 68 had free news media, 60 had a partly free press and 56 had no free press. "For us, it's a very troubling situation," said Leonard Sussman, a senior scholar at Freedom House, an independent, nongovernment organization based in New York.

I asked Sussman, who is one of the world's authorities on press freedom, what criteria were used to determine the status of the media in a given country.

He replied: "We universalize our criteria. We don't say that America's

First Amendment is the best in the world, and therefore everyone else should size their press up to that standard. On the contrary, we try to indicate whether the news media in a given country are free of government control. For us that is the starting point. In virtually all places where the government owns and controls the media, there is virtually very little, if any, plurality of opinion, very little diversity in the content, and consequently, the news media become the propaganda voices of the government."

In a dramatic affirmation of this dictum, the European Court of Human Rights unanimously ruled in November that the Austrian government's monopoly on broadcasting was a clear violation of Article 10 of the European Covenant on Human Rights. That covenant guarantees the right of freedom of expression and information. While



the Court allowed that the Austrian broadcasting system had provided diverse and impartial programming, it stated that a monopoly is a restrictive method unbecoming a democracy.

Freedom House also studies how free the journalist is in countries where the media are controlled. Sussman says:

"We try to examine the degree to which, indeed, there is some diversity permissible. And, even in those countries where the press is not controlled, journalists can be strongly influenced by the government. There are infinite ways in which the journalist in his day-to-day work somehow must look over his shoulder for fear of being fired, of being abused, of being harassed or, in many cases, of being murdered.

"Last year 74 journalists were actually murdered around the world in about 20 countries. About 15 were killed in combat areas, but in the overwhelming percent—55 cases—they were killed because they were jour-

nalists, they were writing things that people didn't want to see, didn't want to hear or have read. Therefore, it is one of the dangerous professions."

What happened in the breakaway states of the former Soviet Union? Were there journalists who had been trained to think for themselves, or had they always had a knee-jerk reaction to follow the Communist party line?

A free press has yet to take hold. Sussman noted: "The trouble is that they have had decades of centralized control from the Communist party, and when the changeover came in 1989, the only people on tap who could really handle the technology, the print press, or the broadcast services were people who had been middle-range

Amendment is the best' Communist operatives. Consequently,

they were retained for the most part. The people who came in above them, many of them from the reformist movement, were not trained journalists. Most of them were polemicists. I would agree with most of what they have written. They were from the underground, but that did not make them journalists. It did not make them immediately capable of acting in ways other than persons who adhere to new party lines."

The Russian press, of all the former Communist countries' media, is the most free, with the exception of Estonia's and Lithuania's.

But how free is free?

Before the Western democracies congratulate them-

selves on maintaining a free press, to the denigration of their controlled press cousins of the third world, one really should ask: How free are the media in the developed industrialized world?

I was in France some years back, watching the news on television. The subject reported was the Italian election results which gave a hefty vote to the Communists. In the middle of the item, the speaker was cut off, the screen went blank, and the next item started. Somebody had censored the evening news.

And in Britain, with the tabloids after the Royals, parliamentarians considered, but held off from, applying legislative "cures" to curb the excesses of the press. In the United States, a thinker of the stature of Noam Chomsky of MIT questions the integrity of the media, which he sees as supporting the interests of the establishment.

There is a story about a PR man who is fired and given no severance pay. When he goes in to see the President, the President says he will keep him on another week if he teaches him to write a press release in that time. The PR man replies enthusiastically:

"That's a great idea. And I'll tell you what. I'll waive the salary if you—an accomplished pianist—teach me to play like yourself in the same period!"

Press experts estimate that between 50 and 61 percent of the articles appearing in *The New York Times* on any given day are PR driven, suggested by a PR person, based on a PR-planned event, or based on press releases supplied by publicists. Since only the relatively rich can afford a PR person or firm to handle their information programs, this is an automatic glass ceiling for those who cannot afford such expertise: the poor, the homeless, the alien. Further, according to Sussman, a high percentage of the news originates in government offices through the efforts of various agencies to have their

voice heard.

He says: "The question has always arisen: Who really sets the agenda for the press? Do they decide what they will cover, what they will feature, what not, or does the government decide what essentially is on the agenda?"

A perfect example occurred during the Gulf war. The press conferences of General Schwarzkopf were held to pacify the press, who were not given permission to follow the army to the front. But the French, when their army tried the same thing, put on a news blackout until they were granted access to the field.

Who is responsible for this weakening of press freedom around the world, even in such traditional free societies as Canada, which curbed the press during the last elections?

Experts say the fall of freedom in the press is concomitant with the loss of freedom in other fields, and lay the blame on the lack of leadership of the major Western powers, especially the United States, without whose support many fledgling democracies cannot survive.

In a leadership vacuum, it is all too easy for the repressive forces to band together to quell press freedom as they did at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, Austria, when they got a clause through the final document offering media "freedom and protection"—but "guaranteed within the framework of national law." That leaves news media hostage to domestic politics outside the influence of international law. ☺

Sally Swing Shelley is the U.N. radio correspondent for the Voice of Germany, Maryknoll, A.P. special assignment and the Vatican radio. She returned to journalism after a distinguished career with the U.N. Secretariat, where she was a director in the Department of Public Information, chief of the NGO section and, earlier, chief of information for International Women's Year.



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THE LAST WORD...

continued from page 29

during 1993, for the first time since the return to democracy, journalists were physically attacked by thugs connected to government officials.

If there is any lesson to be learned from the development of the Latin American press over the last decade, it is that battles for press freedom can be won—but the war goes on. In Argentina, the executive branch is again reconsidering the extension of crippling libel laws. In Guatemala, where the press led the campaign that forced President Jorge Setreno to resign after his "self-coup," journalists are once again being threatened. In Colombia, the government has imposed legal restrictions on the coverage of guerrilla activity and drug trafficking. There have even been increased limitations in Chile and Costa Rica.

Journalists in Latin America are, in many ways, caught in the crossfire, literally and figuratively. The privately owned media organizations frequently impose their form of censorship while additional job insecurity results from the region's economic volatility. Governments too often treat journalists as threats or as 'unofficial' spokespersons. Latin America's media organizations, now that privatization and deregulation have opened the economic systems, have an opportunity to take the new competitive environment as a challenge to improve the quality and responsibility of their coverage. But for that kind of effort to be successful, the work environment for journalists themselves will have to improve first. ☹

Judith Evans is a consultant on Latin American affairs. She is currently working with the Council of the Americas and Vestcor-Partners Group, a Latin American investment house. From 1985 to 1990, she worked as a reporter in South America.

WHO CHECKS THE PRESS?

continued from page 9

work what best helps us function as a democracy and as a society.

Of course it's appropriate to write about the real Ruth and his womanizing, but what happens to the myth of The Babe and how important to us is myth? Do we need myths to sustain us, and is it even the business of the press to concern itself with such things?

There's no simple answer.

In his final paragraph in that Op-Ed dialogue, James Webb quoted Sam Rayburn, the former Speaker of the House, saying, "Any jackass can kick a barn door down, but it takes a carpenter to build one." Webb's concluding suggestion was that the only sure answer "is for those who run the media to insure that there are more carpenters" than there are jackasses "among today's political commentators."

The times have changed. Technology has changed in a great many ways. The press has enormous power. It shapes the way we see ourselves and directs our future accordingly. Can a tyrant police itself? Can or should the press strive to be a more positive force, or should it content itself with shedding light wherever it focuses its attentions? Our future is to no small extent shaped by how we see ourselves in the present. That image is shaped and colored by the press. ☹

In addition to being president of the Overseas Press Club, Larry Smith works for Parade Magazine, where he has been managing editor since 1982. Prior to that, he was a reporter and an editor for six newspapers, beginning with The Wyoming Eagle in Cheyenne and ending with The New York Times. He is the author of the novel The Original.

GOODYEAR OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

NORTH AMERICA

Canada

Bowmanville, Ontario
Collingwood, Ontario
Medicine Hat, Alberta
Napawee, Ontario
Owen Sound, Ontario
Quebec City, Quebec
St. Alphonse de Granby, Quebec
Toronto, Ontario
Valleyfield, Quebec

EUROPE

England

Wolverhampton

France

Amiens
LeHavre
Mireval
Orsay
Greece
Salonika

Italy

Cisterna di Latina

Luxembourg

Colmar-Berg

Morocco

Casablanca

Turkey

Adapazari
Izmit

Germany

Fulda
Philippsburg

LATIN AMERICA

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Hurlingham

Brazil

Americana
Marathon Estate
Sao Paulo

Chile

Santiago

Colombia

Cali

Guatemala

Guatemala City
Las Delicias Estate

Jamaica

Morant Bay

Mexico

Mexico City
San Luis Potosi

Peru

Lima

Venezuela

Valencia

ASIA

Australia

Footscray
Bayswater
Somerton
Thomastown

India

New Delhi

Indonesia

Aek Tarum Estate
Bogor

Dolak Merangir Estate

Japan

Tatsuno
Tsukuba

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GOODYEAR

Financial information is being carefully shielded from reporters by Asian governments which fear losing control of their economies.

NEWS THAT'S HARD TO GET

By David Butts

BUREAU CHIEF, BLOOMBERG BUSINESS NEWS, TOKYO

CHINA SENTENCED Xi Yang, a reporter for the *Ming Pao* daily of Hong Kong, to 12 years in jail for gathering information about China's plans to sell a portion of its gold reserves. His crime was stealing state secrets.

Patrick Daniel, editor of the *Singapore Business Times*, and a reporter, Kenneth James, were both fined for reporting the government's gross domestic product estimates 40 days before they were released. They, too, were guilty of spreading state secrets.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad banned government contracts with British companies to punish the U.K. press for reports suggesting Malaysian government officials may have accepted bribes in return for giving British companies their business.

Such examples underscore in dramatic fashion that the leaders of these Asian countries are hardly champions of a free press. They often blame the individual freedoms guaranteed in the West as the key source of such ills as crime, drug use and even AIDS.

They make no distinction between general news and financial news. If anything, they seem more nervous about a free flow of economic news.

The reason may have more to do with their own political survival than criticism of the West. To win public support, they must keep the economy growing. Financial journalists cannot be set loose because the government fears losing control of the economy.

In Singapore, for instance, a GDP figure is treated as a state secret. In China, news of gold purchases threatens national security.

Two Asian leaders, Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and Mahathir of Malaysia, have articulated a vision of a tightly controlled society where individual freedoms are sacrificed for order.

"The expansion of the individual's right to behave or misbehave has come at the expense of orderly society," said Lee, the former prime minister and architect of Singapore's antiseptic city-state.

In other Asian nations where freedoms are guaranteed on paper, the financial press often practices self-censorship. Such is the case in Japan, where journalists or their publishers have bought into the vision being imposed forcibly in China, Malaysia and Singapore.

They often choose to not publish news that could damage politicians, bureaucrats or business leaders. They feel a greater responsibility to preserving social order than to exposing corruption.

A Japanese journalist who covered the prime minister for one of Japan's two major wire services told me in 1988 that he knew Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita raised half his campaign funds through insider trading of stocks. "Great story," I said. "Why not write it up?"

His reply: "To do that would rip the fabric of society. My role is to protect society." A year later Takeshita resigned as a result of his involvement in the Recruit insider-trading scandal. A junior journalist at a small city bureau,



Michael Bloomberg makes a point during his talk to OPC last month.

where there is less control, broke the story.

Another example of the ubiquitous self-censorship came when I first visited the Ministry of Finance press club in Tokyo to ask for a desk in the press room, something no foreign news organization had at the time. This is what I was told by the reporter who chaired the club: "We are not sure you would abide by our rules. Sometimes, for example, the minister will say something stupid at a briefing. We know he doesn't really mean it and we know if we print it, it would only hurt him. So we don't."

Bloomberg Business News is now a member of the Ministry of Finance kisha club and we have no intention of pulling any punches.

Clashes between the Western approach to news and the Asian approach are certain to become more frequent. But spreading economic progress should lead to a freer press. Radio, televi-

sion, the fax, the computer and satellite dishes make it difficult for governments to control information, but they are trying.

As journalists, it is our responsibility to respond to attacks on press freedom wherever they occur. In Asia, it is especially challenging because the policies of leaders like Lee and Mahathir are attractive to many people.

When the opportunity presents itself, we need to articulate the alternate vision of a healthy, engaged society built by people whose eyes are wide open.

By publishing or broadcasting quality news, we can gain the trust and support of readers and viewers in Asia. Eventually the markets will prevail, and the consumers of news will choose journalism that is written without fear or favor over journalism that kowtows to the powerful. ☺

David Butts, 37, a native of Texas, worked for UPI for seven years before joining Bloomberg in 1991.

UNDERSTANDING AFRICA

By Jennifer N'Deye Walton

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY JOURNALISM STUDENT

GATHERING NEWS too often leads to "surface coverage" with no true in-depth analysis. One critical place that frequently receives underexposure is Africa. The result is the development of negative connotations—thoughts of starvation, poverty, war and savagery. This leads to the perpetuation of a false understanding of African life and customs, which in turn can lead children, especially African-American children, to reject and become ashamed of their motherland.

In the past few years, "cultural diversity" has become a popular phrase in the United States. Statistics show that the face of the workforce, and the face of the general population, will no longer be predominantly white in the next century. To accommodate this change, many schools and businesses have instituted cultural diversity projects or programs. This sounds great in theory. But in practice, true cultural diversity is not being taught. "Surface coverage" does not produce an understanding of a culture. As a foreign correspondent, I would love to focus on and report thoroughly about women in Africa in order to play my part in reaching true cultural diversity.

When African women land a space in the news, which is rare, they are portrayed as primitive and weak-minded. This image has been derived from the way that subjects dealing with them are covered. The public receives a snippet

about the barbaric nature of the clitoridectomy/infibulation process (the altering or circumcision of the female genitalia) or a tidbit on the insanity of polygamy. But very little time is given to issues like the testing of birth control products on women in Third World countries or the transmission of AIDS to women in these countries. Clearly an imbalance exists that needs to be rectified.

Polygamy and the process of clitoridectomy/infibulation are important issues that deserve coverage. However, I would bring to the public the historical and spiritual reasons for these acts, which are ignored by the press.

People need to know that African women did not conform to polygamy simply because they were weak, but

because they were strong. Polygamy, in some cases, was practiced

because of a high infant mortality rate. The strength of these women allowed them to agree to their husbands having more than one wife to secure the continuance of their people. Genital mutilation has its roots in spirituality and making women pure; it is not just some uncivilized practice. The process is also practiced in many European countries.

As a foreign correspondent, I know that it is inevitable that I will have to cover the "immediate and pertinent" news. But I would use every other moment to expose the truth about African women. ☺

Women especially deserve coverage

that disrupts the stereotype

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BUMPY RIDE...

continued from page 17

betting on and hoping for a democratic outcome. Mafia and gangster elements and re-emerging old discredited Communist apparatchiks threaten to corrupt and subvert legitimate new and struggling free market enterprises and a democratic political system.

Far from claiming expertise on post-Communist Russia and Ukraine, I nevertheless have gleaned in talks with natives that the opportunities for social, economic and political reforms create excitement and at the same time dread.

It is a dread that, before a democratic and free market system can nurture the body and the spirit, the former Soviet republics will backslide into another hellish totalitarianism, even civil war.

The main purpose of my visit was to look over and evaluate Internews Network operations which seek to stimulate independent news gathering.

Democratic reforms depend in great part on a free press. Internews Broadcast System is an affiliation of 64 non-governmental TV stations in Russia, Siberia, Ukraine, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. Internews provides training and operational how-to working with journalists in each country.

Funding comes largely from the Soros Foundation and the U.S. government.

WPIX was host to a number of Ukraine TV management personnel last year and in a seminar setting familiarized these managers with American operations of news, programming, sales, engineering and finance.

With a free press the newly independent stations have a shot. Without a free press, the specter of dictatorship looms.

The task of Internews is formidable, but dedicated journalists are making progress. In Kiev and Moscow newsrooms American, Russian and Ukrainian journalists are creating news programs without government control. Journalists from the U.S. are recruited to help train native journalists, some of whom have previously worked for state-controlled news operations.

State of the art cameras and editing gear are being utilized. The mechanics of gathering and presenting news are easy compared with the challenge of developing a press corps which is after the truth of matters and not out to please members of the governmental bureaucracy. Hard reporting on issues like Chernobyl are presented—the kind not to be seen on state television.

In the December elections, Internews helped create a system for gathering and delivering voter results. In cities all over, debates were encouraged by Internews.

Business as usual, an American citizen might say. But in this part of the world where democratic processes lack deep roots, it's almost a small revolution.

Success is by no means assured but, if successful, a free press could work wonders.

Seven decades of strict state control of media have not exactly left countries of the former Soviet Union with any depth of management equipped to deal with free market enterprise. However, with help from the Western democracies, native managers can learn the art and techniques of news production, sales, promotion and programming.

The road is long but the journey is far from hopeless. ☺

John Corporon, Senior Vice President/News Director WPIX-TV, has served several years on the OPC Board of Governors. Prior to surveying broadcast media training and production centers in Moscow and Kiev, he coordinated a weeklong seminar in New York for TV executives from the former Soviet Union mastering the art of free-market broadcasting.



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COMMUNISM IS DEAD...

continued from page 24

With the exception of such upstart publications as the investigative weekly *Respekt*, the Czech media still doesn't seem to be engaging in any kind of genuine debate about what is happening to their nation's economy. That may be because reporters still believe their job is to support the state and encourage the economic changes taking place, even if that means suppressing negative information of views critical of current policies.

"Reporters are so personally involved in politics, in what they are living as citizens, that they can't look at the federal government in an aggressive way," explained Tomas Smetanka, an editor of the daily *Lidove Noviny* to

Michele Kayal, a Fulbright scholar studying the Czech media. Indeed, reporters regularly allow sources to review stories before publication. They generally allow officials they're interviewing to set the ground rules.

One of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus' favorite tactics during his weekly press briefings, for instance, is to snap back at journalists asking tough questions, saying that their queries are ignorant and asking if they understood the first thing about economics. That quickly silences the embarrassed reporter.

In a sense, the Czech journalists' role as reporters has remained the same as it was under a socialist system: to repeat the orthodox line. But now, the text is coming from free-market proponents rather than party officials.

With few exceptions, the Czech media

still doesn't seem to be engaging in any

kind of genuine debate about what is

happening to their nation's economy.

So, my job was to try to show that reporters could and should ask tough questions of investment bankers, economists and businessmen. In the discussion series, I tried to stir up debate, and puncture the protective ideology that makes Czech journalists timid about asking the managing director of a steel company, for example, why a joint venture with a Western concern had fallen apart.

Though problems were expected, there were inevitable frustrations in just setting up the series. Phones often didn't work. The Center's sole Xerox machine seemed always on the fritz. And guest speakers often cancelled at the last minute. But the series eventually came together—with only a few minor glitches.

The series' keynote speaker was Josef Tosovsky, the Czech Republic's equivalent of Fed chief Alan Greenspan.

After weeks of discussions to nail him down, Tosovsky's top flack called us

at 2 p.m. on the

day of the event

to warn us that

Tosovsky would-

n't show unless we faxed

him a list of attending

reporters by 4 p.m. We

scurried to get this done,

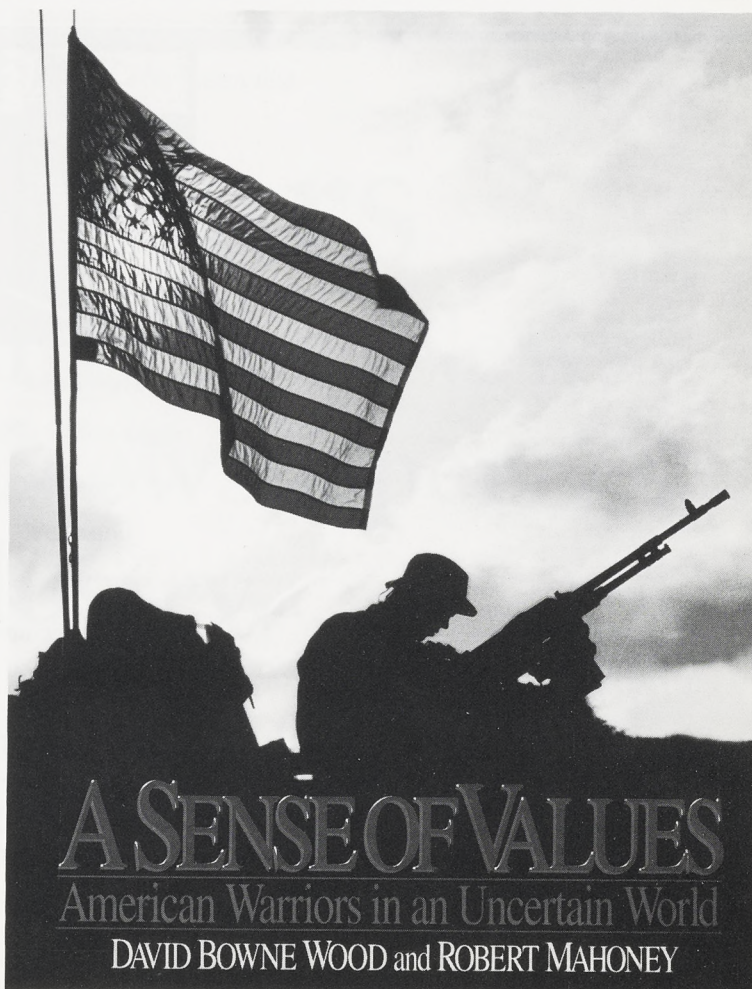
and sure enough,

Tosovsky showed—as did Jeremy Carter from the International Monetary Fund. Other speakers followed over 12 weeks.

No doubt, the issues have changed since that time—as have many of the characters. But the legions of official spokesmen and grey Czech bureaucrats still retain a strong bulwark against the country's newly independent press. ☺

Julia Flynn is a foreign correspondent for Business Week. She is based in London.

Newhouse News Service is proud to announce the forthcoming publication of a new book by its National Security Correspondent, David Wood. An outgrowth of his regular beat reporting here and abroad, the book will be published by Andrews and McMeel in September 1994.



CAN SOUTH AFRICA...

continued from page 30

Although enjoying more latitude than the publicly owned media, newspapers too are having difficulty living up to their own pious promises of fairness to a wide range of political parties. We all have our own encrusted prejudices, built up during the apartheid years.

In one sense, it was almost easier in the "bad old days". Because most of us in the English-language press were firmly opposed to apartheid, we knew what we were against. We knew exactly where we stood. But now the choice for everyone is a lot less clear-cut. We are having to decide what we actually stand for. And that is not quite so easy when some of our most cherished values are no longer the preserve of any one political party.

Both in philosophical and practical terms, the forthcoming transition presents South African editors and journalists with a number of headaches:

How does one counter the intimidation that is so rife in rural and urban areas? Intimidation is already making voter education difficult—and informed coverage and reasoned debate impossible—in certain parts of the country.

How does one strike a balance, in one's daily news coverage, between the plethora of reports on violence and mayhem and the many positive things that are happening? One could fill an entire paper with doom and gloom.

How, at this critical time in our history, does one balance news, information, education and entertainment within the confines of one newspaper, when space is at a premium and the average reader is bored stiff with politics?

How does one resolve the tensions among one's own politically charged staff as the election approaches, and which party to vote for becomes a matter of hot dispute?

Finally, how do we editors unite a community of jour-

nalists which still betrays the mindset and the practices of the apartheid years? We lack a common philosophy, a common set of values behind which to come together in order to ward off the attacks on press freedom that are inevitable in the new society.

Tolerance and compromise are the essence of democracy, and the media is an important factor in creating a climate sympathetic to give and take. I think if the politics of democracy are presented in South Africa as a 'zero-sum' game in which one side wins all at the expense of the others, then the chances of a successful transition will be reduced and the country's future put in jeopardy. That is why at *The Star* we have been strongly supportive of the transition process itself, even if critical of leaders and parties from time to time.

The April election is not the end of the transition to democracy in South Africa, only the end of the beginning. Our future as a nation will be determined not by what happens on election day only but also on developments over the next few years as former sworn enemies learn to govern together and our courts set about applying a constitution that is the product of political trade-offs rather than the noblest democratic principles.

Despite protestations to the contrary by those who drafted it, the constitution gives us strong central government at the expense of regions and favors the State over the rights of the individual. Liberty, to paraphrase Lloyd George, is a habit that we South Africans are going to take some time to acquire.

Note: These are excerpts from the 1993 Harold W. Anderson Lecture which was delivered on December 7, 1993, by Richard S. Steyn, under the sponsorship of the World Press Freedom Committee in association with the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation



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NEW FREEDOM TO REPORT INTERNATIONAL
CONFLICTS EXACTS A TERRIBLE PRICE

Honor Their Courage

By Thomas Kent

INTERNATIONAL EDITOR, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

THE NEW FREEDOM to report events around the world has come at a terrible price in deaths and injuries to our correspondents.

We can move in and out of more countries. We can file copy with portable satellite equipment even where we have no electricity or phones. We can cover all sides in a war, freed from dependence on one side for food, transportation and communications.

While none of us would give up these superb reporting opportunities, there is a price: In less than a year and a half, five people in three countries have lost their lives working for The Associated Press. Many more have been wounded, some seriously. Each death and injury illustrates the bitter side of the freedom we now enjoy.

Moving among different sides in a conflict is a dangerous business. Authorities or aid workers who might have offered help or protection are often absent.

With the world turned upside-down, governments and guerrillas that once felt they had to tolerate journalists are now asking why they should. Often with impunity, journalists are shot, brutalized and chased off. A press card, never much of a shield, can increasingly be a liability.

The old Soviet Union, for example, concealed almost perfectly the occasional ethnic clashes that took place in distant parts of its empire. Now they are open for all to see and cover.

Andrei Soloviev, on a photo assignment for the AP, was killed Sept. 27 covering one of those clashes. The place was Sukhumi, the capital of the breakaway territory of Abkhazia, in once Soviet Georgia. He was covering a battle between Abkhazian and Georgian soldiers for control of the main government building. He was wearing a bullet-proof vest; the round entered at the shoulder and penetrated his chest.

Our new-found freedom also gets us into countries where no one is in charge—countries in a state of anarchy. There was no effective government in Somalia when AP photographer Hansi Krauss and Reuter colleagues Hos

They died in Mogadishu. Right: Dan Eldon, 22, of Reuters. Below, left to right: Hosea D. Maina, 38, of Reuters; Hansi Krauss, 30, of the AP; and Anthony Macharia, 21, a sound technician, also of Reuters.



Maina, Dan Eldon and Anthony Macharia were killed. No one for us to protest to, no Somali establishment that should have offered protection.

The same anarchy reigned in a Somali marketplace in January last year, when AP translator Ali Ibrahim Mursal, 37, was killed trying to defend an AP reporter from a thief. There was no one even to express official regret.

Even where there are functioning governments, there are situations where they, too, lose control.

There was no one clearly in control of South Africa's Katlehong township this Jan. 9, when a delegation from the African National Congress approached a workers' hostel occupied by members of a rival party. Gunfire broke out. Abdul Shariff, taking pictures for the

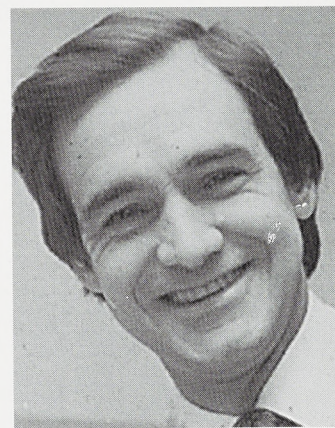
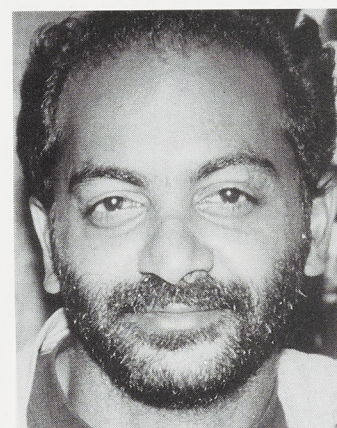
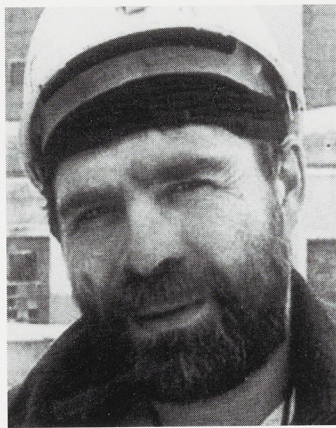
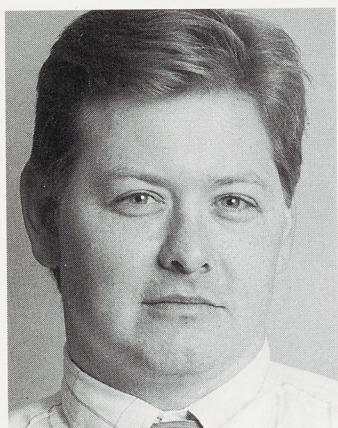
AP, fell mortally wounded in the crossfire.

On March 7, after days of street battles with Palestinians, the Israeli military appeared to lose control of its own soldiers. An Israeli sniper shot the AP photographer John Gaps III, wounding him in the leg with a porcelain bullet. The Israelis say they are investigating.

The end of a war doesn't end the risks.

Getting a visa to Afghanistan used to be very difficult. Sharon Herbaugh, the AP bureau chief in Islamabad, Pakistan, had no trouble entering Afghanistan last spring, in our new era of freedom, to report on the misery of refugees. She died in a helicopter accident April 16.

Danger in any land: Left to right, John Gaps III, AP photographer, shot by Israeli sniper March 3; Andrei Soloviev, AP, who photographed the soldier and the boy, killed Sept. 27 in Soviet Georgia; Below left, Dusan Vranic, AP photographer, shot in Vukovar, Croatia; Sharon Herbaugh, AP bureau chief, Islamabad, killed in helicopter crash April 1993; Abdul Shariff, AP photographer, killed in South Africa Jan. 9; Manuel de Dios Unanue, 48, editor, executed in Queens, N.Y., on orders from Colombia cartel.



John Jennings, an AP reporter, was shot in the foot while covering a battle between two factions in Afghanistan only last November. And two years earlier, Dusan Vranic, an AP photographer, was wounded in the arm and hip on assignment in the besieged Croatian town of Vukovar.

Practically every week brings new reports of attacks on journalists: reporters beaten in Bophuthatswana, along with AP photographer David Brauchli, who also was seriously injured in 1992 by shrapnel from a mortar shell in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Others have been killed, wounded and detained in the former Yugoslavia.

Part of the reason is the general breakdown in civil order in so many parts of the world, the fruit of the collapse of communism and the resurgence of nationalist and clan hatreds long kept under wraps. Part of it is a general disregard for the great powers, which have shown themselves weak or uninterested in many new conflicts. And consequently there is a disregard for reporters who once benefited from the great powers' protection.

It has reached the point where a few paragraphs about journalists being killed or wounded are almost a routine part of an international story. People seem less and less startled that unarmed people, aligned with no side in a conflict and seeking only to report the truth, are being killed, beaten or arrested for doing their jobs.

But a ban on reporters doing their jobs must never be met with relief. The violence we suffer in some places can never be allowed to dull our senses to the less violent, but equally

outrageous, assaults on our access to information — from the streets of Beijing to government archives in Washington to statehouses and even city councils.

News organizations do a good deal to protect correspondents in combat zones. We provide armored cars, bullet-proof vests, helmets and state-of-the-art communications. We also provide a clear instruction: If you think you are in danger, retreat. No story is worth your life.

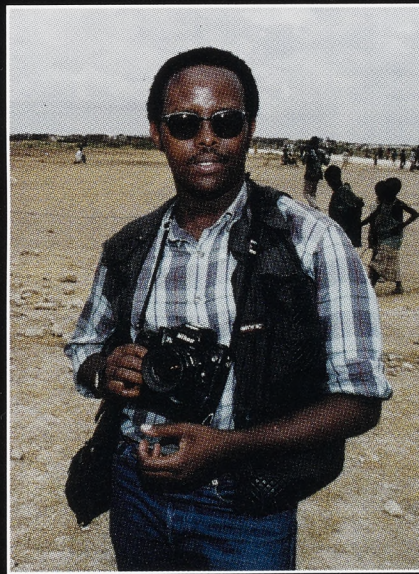
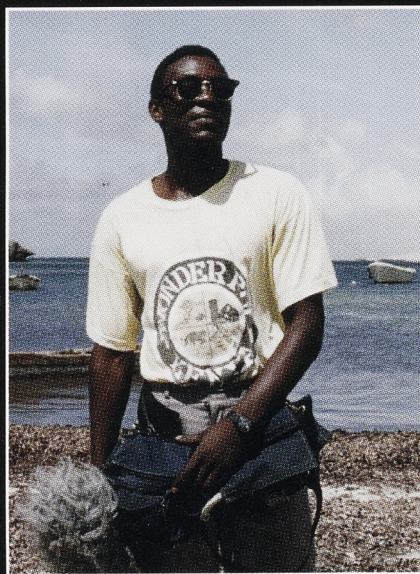
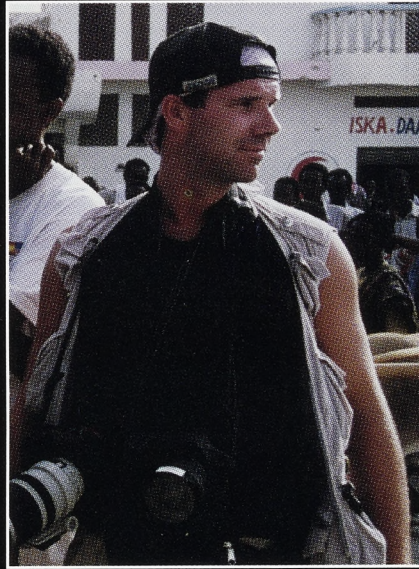
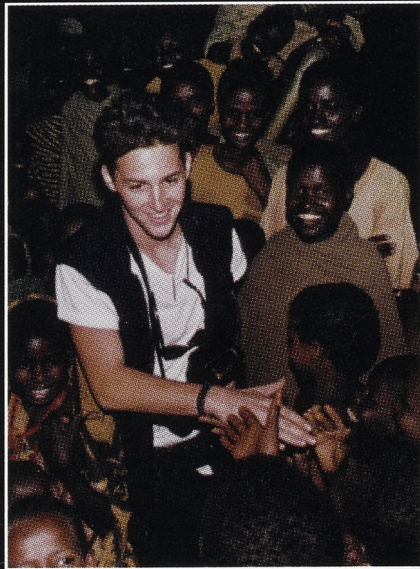
But instructions and even helmets and armored cars, only go so far in the fast-changing, remote parts of the world where we now operate routinely. It may well be that until the world realigns itself on new bearings and truly creates some "new international order," there will be no answer to the extraordinary dangers journalists face.

Despite this, few reporters or photographers are prepared to withdraw from coverage, even on the most dangerous assignments. We still have far more volunteers among our staff than we need at any moment in Yugoslavia, Somalia, Abkhazia or South Africa.

It is for us to support them and to honor their courage and their sacrifices. The best memorial for those who have fallen is to continue, with the greatest vigor, the work they have done—in the interest of immediate and truthful reporting of what the world needs to know about itself. ☺

Thomas J.R. Kent, international editor of The Associated Press, directs the work of editors and writers at the International Desk in New York and foreign correspondents in 90 bureaus.

Faces of Courage



IMAGES OF CONFLICT

The Associated Press and Reuters jointly honor the memories of international newsmen Dan Eldon, Hansi Krauss, Anthony Macharia and Hos Maina, who lost their lives July 12, 1993, covering the conflict in Somalia. Their work is recognized in the photo exhibition, "Images of Conflict."

The special kind of courage they exhibited, the pictures they took, remain an enduring memorial to the dedication of journalists worldwide who pursue the truth.

Their lives, their work will not be forgotten.

AP Associated Press

REUTERS

Well-armed assailants, most often representing the official or criminal establishment exacted a heavy toll among journalists—whose only weapons were their words and pictures.

PRESS FREEDOM: UNDER FIRE

by Norman A. Schorr

VICE PRESIDENT OF OPC, CHAIRMAN, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE

THE UNCEASING WAR on the press escalated in 1993. Well-armed assailants, most often representing the official or criminal establishment, exacted a heavy toll among journalists—whose only weapons were their words and pictures.

Still the cruel and often deadly attacks on journalists probably reflect the innate power of the press—the power of the truth, and the fear that it instills among those who want their criminality and/or lust for power to remain a secret. The figures compiled by those who monitor this epidemic are appalling. For example, in 1993, at least 85 journalists in 24 countries were killed in connection with their work. Tajikistan led with 15 murders, Algeria and Bosnia followed with nine each, Somalia, six and Turkey, five. This summary was compiled from reports of the Committee To Protect Journalists (CPJ), Freedom House, Asia Watch and Amnesty International.

Freedom House reported about 1,200 cases of attack, harassment and other free press violation in the past year. This number included 96 journalists beaten or wounded; 92 received death threats; 128 harassed; 47 kidnapped or disappeared; 368 arrested or otherwise detained, and 12 expelled. In addition, 56 publications or radio stations were shut down; 33 publications or radio stations were bombed or burned.

As of February this year there were 147 journalists in jail—probably among the highest number ever recorded. China topped this list with 26 sentenced to prison terms or otherwise incarcerated, principally for writing about the pro-democracy movement. Kuwait followed with 22, mainly journalists accused of being collaborators during the Gulf War. Ethiopia followed with 18; Turkey, 12; Syria, 12, and Vietnam nine. Many of the trials leading to these sentences were held in secret or in various other ways significantly below international standards for a fair trial.

In a growing number of countries, the legitimate work of journalists—such as exposes of corruption, unfavorable economic reports or reports on opposition movements—is labeled as crimes. In other countries, it is considered criminal to insult, offend or defame the head of state, alive or dead, his or her spouse, domestic or foreign, or the military, supreme court or other sacred cows. A state secret often is the politically correct definition of anything the party in power doesn't want the public to know.

Quite a few of the newer countries are professing support for a free press. Then they pass repressive, restrictive press laws—clearly conceived to restrict the press. When they are questioned about their arrest and jailing of journalists, they respond by saying, "all we are doing is carrying out the law." This is a common response to OPC appeals and protests.

Here is the list of press prisoners, based on information



from CPJ, Freedom House, Amnesty International and Asia Watch:

ALBANIA Martin Leka. A reporter for independent daily, *Koha Jone*, was arrested in January 1994, because of an article he wrote about a message sent by the country's defense minister ordering off-duty troops to leave weapons in the barracks. Accused of revealing state secrets and writing "slander" against the minister, he was convicted and sentenced in February 1994 to 1 1/2 years in prison.

ALGERIA Salah Gouami. After his paper published a communique by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) leader calling on soldiers to disobey orders to shoot at demonstrators, Gouami, director of *Al-Mounqidh*, the Arabic-language FIS organ, was arrested on Jan. 28, 1992.

BENIN Edgar Kaho. The director of *Le Soleil*, an independent newspaper, has been in jail since May 10,

1993. About 5 months earlier, President Soglo sued Kaho for defamation relating to an article reporting on alleged corruption by past and present ministers.

CAMEROON Severin Tchounkeu, David Nahou, the director and the reporter, respectively, of *L'Expression Nouvelle*, were sentenced to prison, accused of publishing "libelous material."

Lucien Claude Kameni, Willy Leonard Djappi. These journalists with *L'Opinion* were sentenced and fined for writing "false news."

SOUTH KOREA Choi Chin-sop. This journalist with the monthly current affairs magazine *Mal*, was arrested September 1992, as part of a crackdown on an alleged North Korean "spy ring," according to Amnesty International. Choi was sentenced to 3 years in prison in February 1993, for belonging to an alleged "anti-state" organization and disseminating material in support of North Korea.

Masato Shinohara. Seoul bureau chief of Japan's Fuji Television network, he was sentenced to two years in prison in December 1993, charged with illegally obtaining classified military documents and showing them to Japanese Embassy personnel.

CHINA Chen Yanbin, Zhang Yafei. They produced several hundred mimeographed copies of an unofficial magazine called *Tielu* (Iron Currents). The government termed it reactionary, charging both with making "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." Chen was sentenced to 15 years in prison with four years' subsequent loss of political rights; Zhang received sentence of 11 years in jail and two-year loss of political rights.

Chen Shiming, Wang Juntas. Chen, publisher of *Jingli Xue Zhoubao* (Economics Weekly) and Wang, editor, were both sentenced to 13 years in prison in February 1991. They were arrested in October 1989 while trying to flee the country.

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Chengshan. Writer of articles for local and provincial newspapers, he was sentenced to an unknown term in prison. The charge was "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement."

Fan Jianping. As an editor at *Beijing Ribao* (Beijing Daily), he was arrested after the June 4, 1989 crackdown.

Fu Shenqi. Just released from a two-year detention for involvement in publishing an underground human rights journal, this former Democracy Wall activist was re-detained in June 1993 and sentenced without trial to three years in "education through labor" camps for speaking to foreign journalists.

Gao Yu. A correspondent for several Hong Kong newspapers, she has been detained by Beijing security officials since October 1993. No formal charges had been filed as of February 1994.

Guan Jian. Journalist who was sentenced to 20 years in jail for "selling secret documents to a foreigner living in Beijing in 1986."

Jin Naiyi. With *Beijing Ribao* (Beijing Daily), he was arrested sometime after June 4, 1989.

Li Jian. A journalist with *Wenyi Bao* (Literature and Arts News), he was arrested in July 1989.

Liao Jia'an. A People's University graduate student and co-editor of the unofficial student journal *Da Jia* (Everyone), he received a three-year prison sentence from Beijing People's Intermediate Court August 1993.

Liu De. An editorial board member of the literary magazine *Jianna Literature and Arts Journal*, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for "vilifying the socialist system." He was expected to be released in February 1994.

Ren Wandong. Arrested in June 1989 and sentenced on Jan. 26, 1991, to seven years in prison and three years' subsequent deprivation of political rights, this former Democracy Wall journalist founded the underground publication *China Human Rights League*.

Shang Jingzhong, Shi Qing, Ji Kunxing, Yu Anrnin. They had published an underground magazine, *Pioneers*, circulated anti-government leaflets and put up anti-government posters. The four were tried in September 1989.

Tang Dadi. An editor for *Xinhua*, the official Chinese news agency, was sentenced to seven years in prison, accused of providing information to a Japanese reporter.

Wang Jun. A *People's Daily* Overseas Edition reporter, was given a two-year prison sentence in May 1993, a year after his arrest allegedly for giving state secrets to the international media.

Wu Shishen, Ma Tao. Wu, a Xinhua News Agency reporter, received a life sentence in August 1993, charged with providing a "state-classified" advance copy of President Jiang Zemin's 14th Party Congress address to a Hong Kong journalist. Ma, editor of *China's Health* daily, was detained by police in January 1994.

Jasbir Singh. A proofreader for *Aaj di Awaz*, was arrested in January 1994.

INDONESIA Adnan Beuransyah. Arrested in August 1990, this journalist with the newspaper, *Serambi Indonesia* was sentenced in March 1991 to eight years in prison on charges of subversion.

IRAN Salman Heidari. A reporter for Teheran newspaper, *Salam*, he was accused of espionage when arrested in June 1992. His arrest is viewed as part of a government effort to frighten hard-line opposition.

Manouchehr Karimzadeh. A cartoon in the science magazine *Farad*, depicting a soccer player with an amputated arm and wearing a turban, led to a 10-year prison sentence in April 1992. The cartoon had been interpreted to be a caricature of the late Ayatollah Khomeini.

Abbas Abdi. Editor-in-chief of the radical daily *Salam*,

was sentenced in December 1993 to one year in prison and a suspended sentence of 40 lashes. Charges never were made public.

IRAQ Aziz al-Syed Jastim. Editor of *Al-Ghad* magazine and former editor of the official daily, *Al-Thawra*, was arrested in Baghdad in April 1991, and has not been heard of since.

ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES Ahmad al-Khatib. A cameraman from Gaza working for *Visnews*, he was arrested in September 1992, because he had shot video of armed activists affiliated with Hamas and had given a copy of the tape to the unit. He was convicted and sentenced in January 1994 to two years in prison and a fine of 8000 shekels.

Mousa Qous. A reporter with English-Language *Al-Fajir* weekly, he was sentenced to four years in prison for membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

IVORY COAST Hamed Bakayoko. Charged with insulting the dignity of the head of state in an unsigned article, the publisher of *Le Patriote* and *Le-Patriote-Express* was sentenced in early 1994 to one year in prison and a fine of 200 thousand CFA francs. (His papers were shut down for three months.)

Kazakhstan Karlshad Asanov. His article in an opposition journal led to a three-year prison sentence.

KUWAIT Fawwaz Muhammad al-Awadi BessLso, Ibtisam Berto Sulaiman al-Dakhil, Usamah Suhail Abdallah Hussein, Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Asad al-Husseini, Ahmad Abd Mustafa. The five journalists were given life sentences in June 1991 for working with the Iraqi occupation newspaper *Al-Nida*.

Wafa Wasfi Ahmad, Belquiss Hafez Fadhel, Zekarayat Mahmoud Harb, Walid Hassan Muhammad Karaka, Rahim Muhammad Najem, Ghazi Mahmoud al-Sayyed. The three men and three women were sentenced in June 1991 a martial court to 10 years in prison with hard labor.

Nawwaf Izzedin al-Khatib. In June 1992, Kuwait's State Security Court sentenced the four Palestinian journalists, convicted of having worked for *Al-Nida*, to 10 years in prison.

Bassam Fouad Abiad, Mufid Mustafa Abd al-Rahim, Ghazi Alam al-Dine. These three journalists were also sent to prison in July 1992. On July 28, 1992, the State Security Court convicted Abiad, Abd al-Rahim and Alam al-Dine for working for *Al-Nida*, news organ of the Iraqi occupation. Abiad, a Lebanese citizen, was sentenced to 15 years. **Abd al-Rahim**, a Palestinian, was sentenced to 10 years. **Alam al-Dine**, a Jordanian citizen, was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

LEBANON Kazem Akhavan. A photographer for Iran's official Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA), he was kidnapped at a Christian militia checkpoint south of Tripoli in 1982.

LIBYA Abdallah Ali al-Sanussi al-Darrat. Arrested in 1974 or 1975, this journalist and writer from Benghazi has been held since without trial.

MYANMAR (formerly Burma) Myo Myint Nyein. He was sentenced to seven years in prison under the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. He was arrested in September 1990.

Nay Min. A lawyer and BBC correspondent, Min was arrested in 1988 and sentenced in October 1989 to 14 years of hard labor.

Nyan Paw (aka Min Lu), Sein Hlaing. Paw, a journalist for *What's Happening*, and Hlaing, publisher, were arrested in September 1990 and sentenced to seven years in prison.

U Maung Maung Lay Ngwe. He was arrested in September 1990 and charged with writing and distributing publications which "make people lose respect for the government."

Win Tin. Former editor of two daily newspapers and vice-chair of Burma's Writer's Association, he was active in establishing independent publications during the 1988

student democracy movement. Arrested on July 4, 1989, he was sentenced to three years' hard labor.

PAKISTAN Sailab Mahsud. A journalist with *Jang* and *The News*, he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

PERU Jose Antonio Alvafez Pachas. A reporter with the daily *Cambio*, he has been detained since June 1992, accused by the government of having ties to leftist rebels fighting the Peruvian government.

RWANDA Janvier Africa. The editor of bi-monthly *Umurava* newspaper, this former government informant was arrested in September 1992 and convicted of "threatening the head of state."

SUDAN Nadir Mahjoub Mohamed Salih. A reporter for the banned Communist paper *Al-Shahiba*, Salih has been held by authorities since June 1993.

SYRIA Ibrahim Habib. This freelance journalist arrested in 1987 was sentenced to three years in prison in July 1993. There is a possibility that he has been released.

Faisal Allush. A journalist and political writer held since 1985, he was sentenced in June 1993 to 15 years imprisonment for membership in the banned Party for Communist Action (PCA).

Jadi Nawfal. This freelance journalist was sentenced in March 1992 to five years in prison for belonging to Committees for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms and Human Rights in Syria (CDF).

Anwar Bader. A reporter for Syrian radio and television, he was accused of membership in the Party for Communist Action (PCA) and was arrested in December 1986 by the Military Interrogation Branch.

Rida Haddad. An editorial writer for the daily *Tishrin*, was arrested in October 1980, and she has been held in detention without charge or trial ever since.

Samir al-Hassan. A Palestinian editor of *Fatah al-Intifada*, he was arrested in April 1986 reportedly because of his membership in the Party for Communist Action.

Ahmad Hasso. A Kurdish writer and freelance journalist was arrested in March 1992 and was sentenced to two years in prison.

Salarna George Kila. Arrested in March 1992 by the Political Security division in Damascus, this Palestinian writer and journalist went on trial in the summer of 1993. As of February 1994, the outcome was still unknown.

Izzat al-Mahmoud. A Syrian journalist working in Beirut, al-Mahmoud was turned over to the Syrian government by Lebanon in 1982.

Abdallah Muqdad, Ahmad Swaidan. Both suspected of membership in Ba'ath Party's Feb. 23 movement, their trial began in mid-1993, and its outcome was unknown as of February 1994. Muqdad was a journalist with the Syrian Arab News Agency.

Nizar Nayour. This freelance journalist was arrested in January 1992 in Damascus with several human rights activists. Two months later, he was sentenced by the State Security Court to 10 years in prison for "disseminating false information and receiving money from abroad." (He was severely tortured during interrogation.)

TAJIKISTAN Dzhumaboy Niyazov. This journalist was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for illegal possession of ammunition, allegedly planted on him.

Mirbobo Mirrakhimov, Akhmadsho Kamilov. Both were arrested in March 1993 and imprisoned for slandering the former speaker of the parliament.

Khayriddin Kamilov, Khurshed Nazarov. They were charged in March 1993 with "conspiracy to overthrow the government through the mass media" and with possessing videotapes said to show human rights abuses by the pro-government National Front.

TUNISIA Hamadi Jebali. Editor of *Al-Fajr*, the banned weekly newspaper, who had been sentenced in 1991 for an article critical of military courts, was sentenced again to 16 years in prison in August 1992.

Abdellah Zouari. A contributor to *Al-Fajr*, was sentenced to 11 years in prison by the Bouchoucha military court in August 1992.

TURKEY Gurbetelli Ersöz. The editor of pro-Kurdish daily, *Özgür Gündem*, she and other staff members were arrested in January 1994 during a raid on the paper's Istanbul offices. She is charged with aiding the outlawed Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK). The court has denied pleas to release her.

Erkan Aydin. A former editor of *Özgür Gündem* was arrested in November 1993 for articles published in the paper.

Hatice Onaran. A journalist with the left-wing magazine *Devrimci Cozum*, she has been detained in November 1993, charged with separatist propaganda.

Cemil Aydogan. Editor-in-chief of *Mezopotamya*, a local newspaper published in Mardin, has been held since October 1993.

Zana Sezen. Editor-in-chief of the left-wing, pro-Kurdish weekly magazine, *Azadi*, has been held since October 1993, charged with "separatist propaganda" for articles published in the magazine. Her trial continues.

Mustafa Kaplan. For an article he wrote for the Islamic daily *Beklenen Vakit*, this reporter was sentenced in September 1993 to eight months in prison.

Celal Albayrek and Remzi Iget. Staffers at *Newroz* magazine, were sentenced to jail.

Fatma Karabacak. A journalist on *Newroz* magazine sentenced to jail.

Isik Ocak. A former editor-in-chief of *Özgür Gündem* sentenced to two years in prison, \$13,690 fine.

Sadi Etdover. *Özgür Gündem's* Elazig correspondent, was arrested in September 1993, charged with aiding the PKK. He is in Erzurum prison while his trial proceeds.

Sakine Fidan. The Diyarbakir correspondent of the left-wing weekly *Macadele*, was arrested in July 1993, and remains in prison while on trial.

Ahmet Sumbul. Sumbul has been in prison while his trial continues.

Hayrettin Dundar. Accused of helping the PKK, the Siirt correspondent of *Özgür Gündem* has been in custody since June 1993.

Bahattin Sevim. Van correspondent for *Özgür Gündem*, was arrested in May 1993, charged with aiding the PKK.

Stefan Waldberg. Accused of aiding, abetting the Kurd rebellion, he was convicted and imprisoned.

UKRAINE Alexander Volosov. In connection with an article in which he accused a public prosecutor of corruption, Volosov, editor of the newspaper *Oriental*, is serving a two-year sentence on charges of libel and slander.

UZBEKISTAN I. Khakulov, I. Nazachov, K. Saranov, S. Sukurov. Editor-in-chief, deputy editor, accountant, member of editorial board, respectively, of *Express Khronika*, sentenced "for embezzlement of abuse and public office."

VIETNAM Doan Viet Hoat, Pham Duc Kham, Nguyen Van Thuan, Le Duc Vuong, Nguyen Thieu Hung, Nguyen Xuan Dong, Pharn Thai Thuy, Hoang Cao Nha. These eight journalists were sentenced in late March 1993 for their involvement with the pro-democracy newsletter *Freedom Forum*. These were their terms: Hoat, editor and publisher, 15 years of hard labor; Kham, 12 years in prison; Thuan, 8 years; Vuong, 7 years; Hung, 4 years; Dong, 4 years; Thuy, 4 years; Nha 8 months.

Nguyen Dan Que. Charged with compiling and distributing subversive literature, including political handbills and of sending documents abroad, was sentenced in November 1991 to 20 years in prison.

WESTERN SAHARA Bahi Mohamed Ould Deif: Missing since 1986, this Moroccan journalist was, reportedly, arrested while reporting from western Algeria. He was charged with plotting the assassination of Mohamed Abdelaziz, general secretary of the Polisario. Despite denials, the continuing detention against his will was confirmed in 1993. (Z)

'She's the most caring person we could have found.'

CONSIDER

Mary Novick

ONE OF THE most important things in life is to be there when it matters and do something that counts. Such words might evoke images of danger spots such as Somalia or Bosnia or Colombia. The connection is direct and, in view of the terrible toll being exacted from international reporters today, meaningful.

However, there are other aspirations and efforts that can mean just as much. Consider, for example, Mary Novick, to whom this page is dedicated. Mary is retiring next month.

Lots of folks know that. They may not know that when she and her husband split up after 16 years of marriage, she was left with four children to raise: Frankie, who was 18 months, and Robert, 10, Patrick, 12, and Edward, 14.

Frankie is 31 now. Over all those years, she said, "my husband never helped." She took the train from Brooklyn into Manhattan and got a job as a part-time waitress at the Columbia University Club. A sister looked after her children. "I never had anybody from outside take care of my kids." Mary's own parents had died.

Mary is still proud that she became the first woman banquet manager at the Columbia club.

After eight years at the Columbia club, she joined the OPC, in February 1972. "I had never heard of the OPC before. I heard about the job from a union rep, but he never told me before I took the job that the club was on the verge of bankruptcy. It was on the verge then and has been ever since."

"We had the old Shell headquarters in the Time/Life Building," she continued. The next home for the OPC was the Women's Republican Club on 53rd Street and, Mary recalls, "I hated it. Oh, how I hated it."

Asked why, she says, "They insisted you had to be a Republican to walk through the door, and I always hated for anyone to tell me what to do. We were there two years." Then there was the Biltmore, for five, and the Chemists' Club, then a period of limbo, then back to the Women's Republican Club and then, a year ago January, to the club's current headquarters in the stylishly renovated Tudor, on 42nd Street just beyond Second Avenue.

Two of her favorite presidents were the literary agent Anita Diamant, also the chairman of this dinner, and the late Henry Gellerman, whom some may remember as the person the word curmudgeon was coined for.

"Basically," Mary says, "there's always a few that are going to annoy the hell out of you," but she liked Henry because "he was always good to me, and he always said I



Mary Novick with one of Jame Gordon Bennett's great green copper owls, now roosting a few feet from her desk in OPC headquarters at 320 East 42nd Street.

had the diplomacy that he didn't have."

Mary especially liked Anita Diamant, though, not only because Anita is friendly and compassionate and all-around smart but also because she was "the only one who really had a feel financially for things." Mary adds, "She got the dues raised."

Anita, on her part, says of Mary, "I think she's done a wonderful job, because she's the most caring person we could have hired. Her concern was always with keeping the OPC alive. And she has been the person who corresponded with ailing members, families of members who died and continually reminded all the Presidents of their

duties toward the membership. It was Mary who coordinated the program, the awards, the dinner as well as selling tables, pursuing corporations and in general organizing affairs—if you want to call them that—and was always anxious for us to save money when possible, always pulling things together for the sake of the club, always concerned about its future."

As for Mary's future, she's going to relax and travel a bit, but only out to Long Island's North Fork, where her sister, 72, her brother, 74, and her other sister, 75, live.

Her favorite sport is cooking, especially Polish. "I make my own kielbasa every year," she says, "forty pounds of it at Christmastime. The kids chip in and help me stuff it. I buy the casings. I make my own pierogis too. My husband was Polish. His mother taught me."


Mary happens to be Irish, but her other favorite

line of cooking is Italian: lasagna, ravioli, stuffed shells, pasta

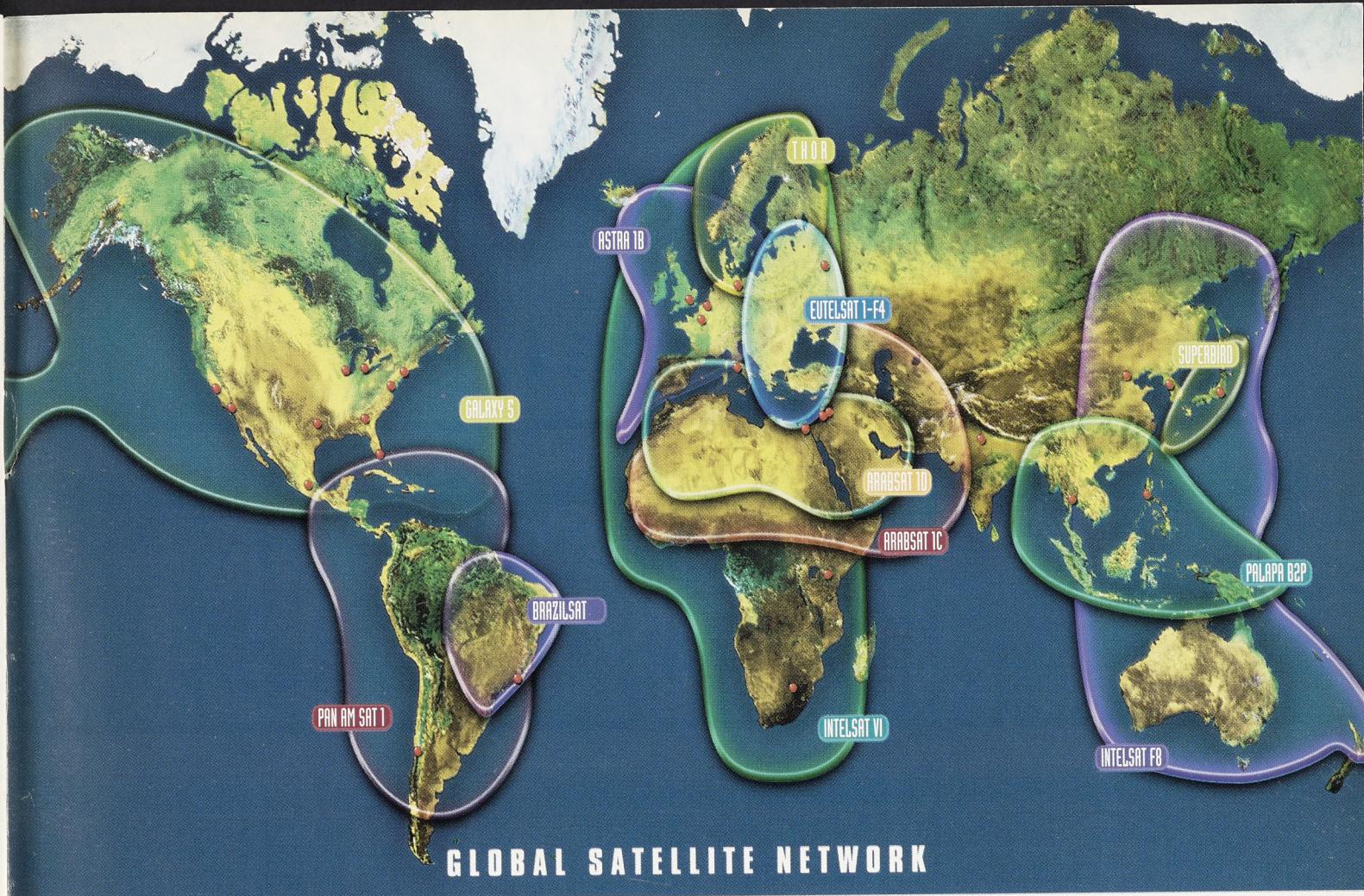
with broccoli or cauliflower, or pasta with garlic. ("You brown a big clove of garlic. It's always best with angel hair pasta or linguini and fresh-grated Locatelli cheese. I make garlic bread to go with it, too.")

Mary's guiding philosophy, she says, is to rely on "my first impression and my gut instincts," which she knows "I should always trust—just like my husband: When I first met him, I couldn't stand him."

Mary's third son, Robert, died six years ago August at age 34. The rest of her children are doing reasonably well and they all live in Ridgewood, Queens. She takes great comfort in her five grandchildren.

In an age when the family is threatened more than ever, in a time when perhaps the hardest thing in our society—and the commonest—is to be a single woman trying to protect and feed and house and raise children, Mary Novick has been there when it mattered, and done something that counted. 

— Larry Smith



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